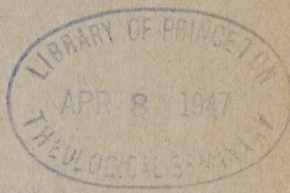
CATHOLICS AND THE CIVIL WAR

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
APR 8 1947
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
E540
.C3 B64

CATHOLICS AND THE CIVIL WAR

CATHOLICS AND THE CIVIL WAR



ESSAYS

by

THE REVEREND BENJAMIN J. BLIED, PH. D.
Author of Austrian Aid to American Catholics
1830 - 1860
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND LANGUAGES
ST. FRANCIS SEMINARY

Foreword by
THE REVEREND PETER LEO JOHNSON, D. D.
Professor of Church History
St. Francis Seminary

1945
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Nihil obstat:
H. B. Ries, Censor
St. Francis, Wis., die 12 Augusti 1945.

Imprimatur:
Milwaukiae, die 14 Augusti 1945.
✠ Moyses E. Kiley
Archiepiscopus Milwaukiensis.

Copyright, 1945, by the author

Printed in the United States of America

CONTENTS

		Page
	Foreword	7
	Preface	9
	ESSAY	
I.	From Polk to Lincoln	11
II.	Catholicism and Abolitionism	19
III.	The Bishops of the North	36
	List of the American Bishops	50
IV.	The Bishops of the South	53
V.	The Catholic Press	70
VI.	Influencing Europe	83
VII.	The Fenian Brotherhood	97
VIII.	Charity in the Armies	108
	List of Catholic Chaplains	122
IX.	Wisconsin Catholics	124
X.	Mourning with the Nation	138
	Selected Bibliography	151
	Index	155

FOREWORD

The meteoric run of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* may be symptomatic with a deal of similar pleas. Like a meteor the novel gave off more heat than light and was destined to lose its attraction. It is a rare example of the contemporary identification of custom with morality. Besides, the novel synthesized all the fads and fancies of a current egalitarianism and pseudo-mysticism. It overlooked the permanent values but stressed the ephemeral and sectional elements in slavery. In this way the Stowe book represents one side of the debate.

Because a debate was possible, Catholics were discovered on both sides. Differences arose mainly from their residence, politics, economics or antecedents. They did not differ about slavery itself. Catholics disliked slavery from the viewpoint of principles and morality. Divided on problems of the moment, they were united in the timeless elements involved in them.

Politics offered no key to a decision in the grave problem of serving the union cause. From 1801 to 1861 the democratic party ran the government by its interest in slavery, and up to 1848 all parties courted the slavery influence. The southern democrats held the balance of power by dividing the northern and middle states.

Unless the historian is prepared to indict the majority in the north as slacker and obstructionist, he is obliged to admit that the opposition to the federal administration and to the draft was quite normal throughout the period.

The north was fighting to preserve the union and not to free the Negro. The viewpoint of Catholics is very well expressed in this excerpt: "Do not believe that the war is for freeing the Negro, but rather to preserve the union. All governments make mistakes. Slavery will be settled later on." It was common knowledge that the federal administration did not intend to draft actually, but merely to stimulate local attempts to meet quotas. The class legislation in the draft law whereby some could offer a substitute or a money commutation, divided the country as nothing else did.

Black republicans soft pedalled their opposition to slavery. President Lincoln's action regarding Fremont's abolition proclamation illustrates the policy of opportunism followed in the matter. The jockeying of the democrats and the anti-foreigner and anti-Catholic antecedents of the party in power added to the confusion. Somehow or other the question of slavery was almost hopelessly entangled with the past and actual politics and presented an opportunity for the opposition to maintain it in the political sphere.

Though fragmentary, the following essays are a reliable cross-section of Catholic opinion and action during a time of stress, sentiment and sacrifice. Throughout there is a decided antipathy for slavery itself and a determined antagonism to war or abolition as solutions. At a time when the bewilderment about slavery and conflict reached new heights, the Catholic leaders offered a rare combination of balanced judgment and measured procedure to a sorely troubled nation. Likewise, when the draft issue upset order in many places, the bishops helped to steady the scales. Not the least contribution of the essays may be their display of a great variety, range and independence in the Catholic thinking.

The following study has the merit and drawbacks of path-finders. It will not be altered to any great extent at least in its broader outlines by future investigators. Other students will be hampered by the same limitations. Due to the scattered and unorganized condition of most diocesan archival depots, research in the field is obliged for practical purposes to start with the easier approaches to it. Besides, the vast epistolary correspondence outside of chanceries, often hidden away in newspaper collections, has hardly been exploited. The letters are mainly from soldiers and form the material for an added chapter.

PETER LEO JOHNSON

St. Francis Seminary

PREFACE

This short work has a rather long history. At St. Francis seminary between 1930 and 1934 the writer prepared a thesis for the degree of master of arts on the attitude of the Catholic bishops of the north toward the American civil war. That study rested primarily upon *Der Wahrheitsfreund,* biographies, and general works. The subject continued to interest him, so he explored many libraries for additional material on Catholic aspects of the war. From time to time some of the data was published in the *Salesianum, Social Justice Review,* and the *Historical Bulletin.*

Simultaneously a number of studies have appeared in this field, such as the treatises in volume twenty-six of *Historical Records and Studies,* Madeleine Rice's *American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy,* and articles such as Joseph Frese's, "The Hierarchy and Peace in the War of Succession," in *Thought,* June, 1943. Helen Campbell's *The Case for Mrs. Surratt,* though devoid of the usual historical apparatus, has helped to fill in the general picture of the times in so far as Catholics were concerned.

These works induced the writer to publish the following essays as a complement to them. They are neither exhaustive, nor do they constitute an integrated narrative, but as a collection of fragments they may be helpful to others who wish to tell the story of the civil war in detail.

The writer wishes to thank especially the Rev. Peter Leo Johnson, his former professor and present colleague, for having interested him in this field of research. He thanks Dr. Herbert W. Rice of Marquette university, Dr. Paul Kiniery of Loyola university, the Rev. John M. Lenhart, O. F. M. Cap., and Mr. Joseph H. Blied for having read the manuscript and for having offered valuable criticism. He expresses his gratitude to the Rev. Thomas T. McAvoy, C. S. C., who allowed him access to the archives at Notre Dame university, and also to the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Augustine C. Breig and the Rev. Raymond A. Fetterer, the librarians of St. Francis seminary.

I

FROM POLK TO LINCOLN

On March 4, 1845, James K. Polk became the eleventh president of the United States. His margin of victory over Henry Clay was less than 40,000 votes. The youthful president owed his election to the democratic party which enjoyed the support of most American Catholics. Early in the nineteenth century politicians could ignore them, but by the middle of the century, thanks to immigration from Ireland and Germany, they constituted one and one-half million people scattered from the Atlantic ocean to the Mississippi river. President Polk, a Presbyterian, did not find it distasteful to take notice of them, even though the nativists were denouncing them for threatening the solidarity of Anglo-American culture.

Many problems confronted Polk during his administration. Among them was the annexation of Texas to the United States. Solving that problem involved the United States in war with a Catholic nation. Some demagogues were not timid in assailing both the Mexicans and the religion which they professed, but officially the United States had no grievance against the religion which prevailed south of the Rio Grande, so when the war broke out President Polk conferred with Archbishop Hughes of New York about convincing the Mexicans of that fact. True, various papers had printed hostile stories about "priest-ridden Mexico" and they had made some suggestions about penalizing the Church, but those opinions represented only a loquacious minority. Out of this interview grew the story of Hughes' going to Mexico as a minister of the United States government. How much truth was in the story has never been ascertained, but it was garrulously repeated not only here in America but also in Europe for it was included by Mrs. Sarah Maury in her book, *The Statesmen of America in 1846,* which circulated on both sides of the Atlantic ocean. Moreover, as a result of that interview two Catholic

chaplains were engaged in order to keep the Catholic element in the army content. Of the two, Father John McElroy, S. J., was of Irish birth, and Father Anthony Rey, S. J., was of French origin. They left Georgetown on June 6, 1846, and within a month they arrived in Texas. The former returned to Georgetown in July, 1847, while Father Rey was killed and mutilated in unknown circumstances near Ceralvo after the battle of Monterey. Two chaplains who each served only a year may not seem to be of importance, but they established the precedent for Catholic chaplains in the United States army, so that by the time of the civil war that office was not considered an anomaly. On the other hand, no Catholic chaplain was commissioned in the navy until 1888 when Father Charles Parks began his career during the administration of Grover Cleveland.

There was another Catholic aspect to the war with Mexico. Since it was fought with an entirely Catholic country, the suspicion passed from mouth to mouth that American Catholics in this case could not be loyal to the United States. In the hindsight of history it is easy to see that those fears were baseless. The hierarchy was silent about the war, but the Catholic press, which included such pioneers as the *New York Freeman's Journal* and the Cincinnati *Telegraph,* was conspicuously loyal. Naturally, it was best for the hierarchy to remain silent since its members were unpopular in non-Catholic circles, and, moreover, in the presidential campaign of 1840 Bishop England of Charleston in a public letter had assured the nation that American Catholics did not desire to form a political party, and that they were content to show their convictions quietly at the ballot box.

Orestes A. Brownson, who had just become a Catholic, published a long article in July, 1847, entitled "Slavery and the Mexican war." He explained that he had remained silent because he did not like to denounce a war while his country was engaged in it since loyalty is an indispensable virtue in a citizen, but at that late date the New England sage revealed that he had regarded "the Mexican war from the first as uncalled for, impolitic, and unjust." Foreseeing territorial expansion as a result of the war,

he predicted that it would precipitate a crisis because southerners would want to occupy the new land with their slaves and the northerners would not allow their blood to have been spilled to extend what they regarded as a detestable system. Yet, according to Brownson, the northerners could not bar slaves from the newly-acquired area without trampling upon the constitution. To escape this difficulty Brownson advocated that no land be taken from Mexico. In his opinion, there would be no hardship in that because the territory of the union was sufficiently large regardless of what expansionists might allege. "If the antislavery party," said Brownson, "finds itself strong enough to prevent the extension of slavery in defiance of the constitution, it will not stop there. It will no longer respect constitutional barriers; but will take up the question of slavery in the states, and immediate emancipation or civil war will be the alternative—both bad, and one hardly more to be deprecated than the other."[1]

When the Mexican war came to an end Polk recommended to the congress that the United States establish diplomatic relations with the Holy Father, not, indeed, as head of the Catholic church but as sovereign of the papal state. After some discussion the proposal was adopted, and on August 2, 1848, Jacob L. Martin arrived in Rome to take up his official duties. The American legation was maintained until after the civil war when many

[1]Orestes A. Brownson, *Works,* collected and arranged by Henry F. Brownson, 20 volumes (Detroit, 1885), XVI, 25-59.

Speaking of the abolitionists he declared: "They are the worst enemies of their country, and the worst enemies, too, of the slave. They are a band of mad fanatics, and we have no language strong enough to express our abhorrence of their principles and proceedings. . . .

"We have no sympathy with the abolitionists; we entertain not for a moment even one of their fundamental principles . . . and where the master is a true Christian, and takes care that his people are instructed and brought up in the true Christian faith and worship, slavery is tolerable, and for Negroes, perhaps, even more than tolerable. . . . Whatever repugnance we may feel, personally, to the slave system, we are fully convinced that the greatest disservice they (the slaveholders) could do their slaves would be to grant them immediate emancipation; which would be as cruel as for a father to turn his children out upon the world, at a tender age, to take care of themselves."

representatives abroad were harassed by political adversaries at home. During that period the Roman legation came to an end by the simple expedient of not appropriating funds for its maintenance. In its day Polk's proposal was a gesture of good will toward Catholics, but during the civil war it served as an additional listening post and it simplified making contacts with the head of the Catholic church.

The same year that the United States entered into diplomatic relations with the papal state, Europe underwent a series of revolutions.[2] Because the leaders failed to realize their objectives, they fled to the new world where they could enjoy freedom of speech. In America these forty-eighters spent considerable energy in denouncing the 'anti-liberal' Church of Rome, and, being men of ability, they secured a hearing both among recent immigrants and among the nativists and know-nothings. In the course of time the narrow objectives of the latter groups lost their appeal and many of their members aligned themselves with the new republican party whose principles had a wider appeal. The forty-eighters usually joined the republican party, whereas other immigrants who were less interested in political reforms preferred the conservative democratic party.

No sooner was the Mexican war over when the question of slavery, true to Brownson's prediction, was agitated with increased vigor. Many had believed that the whole scheme of annexing Texas was inspired by a desire of southerners to expand the power of the slavery faction, and after the treaty of Guadalupe

---

[2]Most Americans had applauded the French revolution of 1830 and the revolution of 1848 also enjoyed popularity. The provisional government established the national workshops and abolished Negro slavery anew in the colonies although it had been outlawed ineffectually during the great revolution of the preceding century. When this news arrived in the United States Whittier eulogized the antislavery decree while the Savannah *Republican* commented: "They seem disposed to rush into socialism, and that still more cruel absurdity of immediately emancipating the slaves in all the colonies of France." In general, it was the wealthy and conservative groups that were critical of the revolution of 1848. See Eugene N. Curtis, "American Opinion of the French Nineteenth-Century Revolutions," *American Historical Review*, XXIX, 249-270.

Hidalgo in 1848 the question of admitting new states, with voices in congress, had to be dealt with. The crisis passed, but in 1852 the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* incited a large part of America and Europe against slavery with fabulous spontaneity.[3] Two years later at Ostend and Aachen the American ambassadors to Spain, France, and England announced to the world that the United States would be justified in taking Cuba by force if Spain refused to sell it. The United States had long wanted Cuba for strategic reasons and attempts to purchase it had been made. With California admitted to the union as a free state, it was doubly important for the south to acquire Cuba in order to counterbalance the ever-increasing power of the industrial north. Then, too, if slavery would be abolished in Cuba in deference to European sentiment, it might become exceedingly difficult to maintain it in the United States.[4]

Recently Americans have been trying to see good qualities in Spanish-Americans, but North Americans have been traditionally hostile to all things Spanish because they have followed the British tradition in which England is exalted and in which the sight of the Armada never grew dim. Catholics, on the other hand, have not forgotten the Catholic blood which England caused to flow and they have been inclined to look upon Spain with a friendly eye.[5]

---

[3]The *Presbyterian of the West,* October 6, 1853, reported: "The poor old man, whom they call the pope, has given a second kick at Mrs. Stowe's famous book. Twice now has it gone into the solemnly prohibited list, and this last time as 'damnably pernicious.' We take his acts, therefore, in this matter, as a demonstration that Uncle Tom is a genuine fruit of liberty and the Bible." Quoted in Evangeline Thomas, *Nativism in the Old Northwest, 1850-1860* (Washington, 1936), 113.

[4]Slavery was not abolished in Cuba until several years after the American civil war had ended.

[5]Brownson in October, 1850, expressed himself forcefully on the subject. Discussing the Cuban expedition he wrote: "The journals have been filled with loud complaints of the cruelty with which the Spanish authorities treated the Contoy prisoners while they detained them in custody. . . . We are well aware that the mass of the American people, believing all the falsehoods and retaining all the prejudices of their ancestors current in the days of Queen Elizabeth, are prepared to credit any absurd tale of Spanish

When the desire for annexing Cuba to the United States was at its height, the government was represented at Madrid by Pierre Soulé. Few men were less fitted for the task because few were more interested in acquiring Cuba. Soulé's whole history was rather exciting. Born to prominent Catholic parents in France, he left the Jesuits' school at Toulouse because he did not like the discipline, and early in life he became implicated in political plots. As a result of contributing to *Le Nain Jaune* (The Yellow Dwarf) and aligning himself with the republican movement against King Charles X he had to flee in 1825 via Haiti to Baltimore. In America he became ill, but he regained his health and for a time was given assistance by the Dominicans in Bardstown, Kentucky. Eventually he settled in New Orleans and became a United States senator. Soulé longed for important posts in the foreign service, but his impetuous disposition barred many of them to him. When he did get the appointment to Madrid he involved himself in many difficulties, including some duels, and after the Ostend manifesto came under fire he had to resign on December 17, 1854. During the war he supported the confederacy and he is said to have gone abroad on its behalf. In 1862 Soulé was arrested by General Butler but he escaped from his northern prison and eventually returned to New Orleans to end his days, after having battled paradoxically for slavery and for world republicanism.

On March 6, 1857, Chief Justice Roger Taney handed down the Dred Scott decision which startled the nation by declaring that congress had no right to prohibit slavery in the territories. Taney, who was a devout Catholic, had been born in Maryland and reared in a typical southern atmosphere. He had co-operated in colonizing free Negroes in Africa; he had freed his own slaves; and he had helped others win their freedom. Yet he was no

---

cruelty that any idle vagabond chooses to invent. . . .

"We are not the apologists of Spain; but we may say this much for her, that no nation has been more maligned, and no national character more vilely traduced, than the Spanish. There is no nobler blood in Europe than the brave old Castilian, and a more elevated or virtuous peasantry than the Spanish is not to be found in the whole world. Time was, and not long since, when Spain was the freest country in Europe, worthy even of all admiration for her noble political institutions." Brownson, *Works,* XVI, 293-294.

abolitionist because he thought that slavery would be necessary so long as Negroes remained in the United States. In Taney's estimation slavery was a southern problem that was to be solved by those who were familiar with it and not by abolitionists who knew little about it from direct observation. Realizing how the strength of the north was mounting, Taney became more and more convinced that individual states should be free from federal domination and he supported that contention in the face of serious opposition.

Meanwhile William Lloyd Garrison had been publishing his abolitionist paper, called the *Liberator,* and he had traveled far and wide in promoting its cause. In Ireland he became acquainted with Daniel O'Connell and in England he associated with George Thompson, an abolitionist leader. He had tried to induce Father Mathew, the Irish temperance preacher, to endorse his stand on slavery, but with him he had only a little more success than when he approached the Hungarian exile, Louis Kossuth. These men, one a crusading priest and the other a political agitator, had nothing in common, but each of the foreigners realized that by aligning himself with the abolitionist faction he would automatically alienate from himself many staunch citizens. Shortly after 1840 Father Mathew had put his signature on an antislavery petition, but when he visited the United States he realized that his popularity was greatest among those groups that were indifferent to abolitionism, so he explained to the disgust of Garrisonians that he was crusading solely against the slavery of liquor. Garrison bitterly denounced those who failed to agree with him, and churches which did not shout "God wills it" were labeled "cages of unclean birds, Augean stables of pollution." Although he dabbled in phrenology and spiritism and was often deceived by quacks, he had the knack of developing a huge following among religious and agnostics alike. People followed him because they sincerely wanted to improve their country, yet naively they saw no cause for worry when he publicly burned a copy of the constitution and ventured to say: "I tell you our work is the dissolution of this slavery-cursed union."

When the civil war broke out the Catholic church was very much stronger than at the outbreak of the Mexican war because immigration had not diminished. The leadership within the Church was largely Irish, but there was a sprinkling of French bishops in the hierarchy and a few Germans had attained the episcopal dignity. Some of the bishops lived in regions where Catholics were numerous and influential, others in regions where they were numerically negligible. The sentiments which they expressed are reviewed in the following pages. The greatest giant in the hierarchy, Hughes of New York, had weathered many a political storm but he was not destined to see the end of the civil war. In his later life Hughes' prestige and patriotic fervor were rivaled by the fame of Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati who had the good fortune to outlive Hughes by many years and to see the outcome of the conflict which began in 1861.

Priests no doubt at times influenced the views of their parishioners, but their activities were so lacking in glamor that their role has been all but forgotten. As for laymen, their contribution was made in the Catholic newspapers whose editors occasionally incurred the wrath of their ecclesiastical superiors by advancing their own opinions regardless of the consequences.

After the war was over the Church appraised herself anew and found that the war had not injured her. In faith and morals and ecclesiastical discipline she had retained perfect unity even though priests, prelates, and people had differed in politics.

II

CATHOLICISM AND ABOLITIONISM

The antislavery movement took root in the United States during the very first years of their existence. Philosophically that crusade was a manifestation of humanitarianism whose ancestor was the rationalism of the eighteenth century. The industrial revolution which came in the latter half of that same century provided economic stimulus for freeing serfs and slaves, while the antimonarchial spirit and the diffusion of democratic ideas lent political impetus to the cause of universal liberty.

Attempts had been made to have the constitutional convention outlaw slavery, but that eminently practical body, which knew how to compromise when necessary, chose to leave the question to the individual states. Accordingly, northern states outlawed slavery, the northwest ordinance forbade it, and in the south sincere dissatisfaction with it existed in many quarters. Because of entirely different economic conditions the abolition movement grew rapidly in the north, and by 1835 it had become rabid and revolutionary, adopting the slogan, "Immediate and unconditional emancipation." While this evolution was occurring within the antislavery groups of the north, the south began to defend itself by pointing to the constitution, but the abolitionists blandly placed themselves above that document which to them was a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Southerners also turned to ethnology, history, and the Bible to justify their conduct but their treatises frequently were fantastic and inconclusive. By and large, many of the arguments were useless because both sides failed to agree upon a definition of slavery. Northerners looked upon it as an arrangement whereby one human being owned another and ruled him despotically whereas southerners regarded it as a system of labor in which a person exchanged lifelong service for lifelong support. Moreover, the north was agitating for a fundamental change which would be effected far from home, while the south

was defending home conditions. Consequently, in one part of the nation the question was purely academic and in the other part it was primarily practical.

Early in the nineteenth century Catholics contributed little to the formation of American public opinion because they were so few in number, they lacked organization, and they were highly unpopular. What numerical strength the Church had was due to immigration, but the immigrants had no influence for a long time after their arrival. Strange and poor, often ignorant of the language of the land, they cared for their most fundamental needs in obscurity. Nevertheless, even the dullest of them realized at an early date that they owed respect to the constitution and that they could not conscientiously join their American neighbors in laboring to subvert it.

More reasons than loyalty to the existing government deterred Catholics from aligning themselves with the abolition faction in the United States. It was said above that the abolition movement was related to humanitarianism and to rationalism. If proof is needed it can be obtained by studying the philosophers of eighteenth century France and by analyzing the French revolution during which slaves were ineffectually declared free and all Frenchmen, including religious in monasteries, were proclaimed free and equal. Even labor unions were outlawed because they violated the exaggerated notion of liberty and equality which underlay the upheaval of the century and which emanated from the works of the philosophers and encyclopedists. Ideas of that kind were popular with the founders of the United States who were well read in French philosophy, but, being men of a practical bent in an undeveloped country, the ideas did not bear much fruit. In Europe Napoleon crushed the revolution, but the ideas continued to spread in the secret societies in France, and they manifested themselves everywhere in the abolition of serfdom, in the extension of the franchise, and ultimately in the revolutions of 1830-1831 and 1848. It was from elements of that type that the distillate known as abolitionism was produced.

The Catholic church lost many of her members owing to the circulation of equalitarian ideas but the Church itself remained immune. On the other hand, some Protestant denominations were deeply influenced. Some religions had become formal and external, and the masses reacted by demanding a more appealing religion which emphasized helping one's neighbor. A hundred years ago some proposals, such as the abolition of slavery, were promoted by diametrically opposite groups—ministers of the gospel who appealed to Christian principles, and agnostics who scoffed at heaven and tried to induce people to act gently because heaven was a doubtful region and therefore it would be best to forget about it and to make the earth a better place in which to live. In the United States this anomaly was much in evidence. Garrison's party was political, anti-church, and perhaps infidel. He was of the opinion that the clergy would burn the Bible if public sentiment required it. Stowe, on the other hand, had difficulty in admiring any abolition movement which was divorced from evangelical religion. Eventually both of them worked together, but a long time passed before they could be brought to terms.

In America another angle had to be considered by Catholics. That they ought not co-operate with agnostics of the Voltaire lineage was obvious, and besides the line of heresy that separated them from the Protestant denominations was the attitude of the Protestant abolitionists toward Catholicism. Most abolitionists believed in the doctrine of the limitless progress of mankind which is of rationalistic paternity, and, in their zeal for progress, they hated the "obscurantist" Catholic church as much as the owners of slaves. Bishop England of Charleston charged the abolitionists of England with being just as interested in enslaving the Irish with penal laws as they were in freeing the slaves, and, in the United States, what family was more hostile to the Catholic church than the ministerial Beecher family out of which came virulent sermons, the bitter *Plea for the West,* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin?* No one could expect Catholics to join hands with such people.

That Catholics always disliked slavery goes without saying. To demonstrate that would, of course, require reviewing the history

of the Church from the days of ancient Rome down to the present. Suffice it to recall that in the beginning of the last century Pope Pius VII condemned the slave trade, and on November 3, 1839, Pope Gregory XVI repeated that condemnation emphatically. This was nothing new to Catholics, but some Americans jumped to the conclusion that the Holy Father had also condemned domestic slavery as it existed in the United States. Bishop England of Charleston, who was well known as an authoritative apologist, hastened to explain to his excited fellow citizens the important distinction between slave trade and slavery. Although the latter was not included in the papal document, Catholics nevertheless sincerely detested it. The venerable signer of the declaration of independence, Charles Carroll, voiced the sentiments of many Catholics when he said: "It is admitted by all to be a great evil; let an effectual mode of getting rid of it be pointed out, or let the question sleep forever."

In North Carolina Judge Gaston, Georgetown's distinguished alumnus, tried to better the condition of the Negroes, Roger Taney freed his slaves, Matthew Carey endorsed colonization projects, and although Robert Walsh thought that African colonization might be thwarted by Great Britain he was of the opinion that it could be tried elsewhere. Bishop England in 1841 said he was not a friend of slavery, although he did not see how it could be abolished at the time. More than that, when colonization got under way several Catholic priests went to Africa to devote their lives to the Negroes. Father Edward Barron left Philadelphia for Liberia while Father John Kelly left New York for the same destination, and the former interested the celebrated Jewish convert Father Francis Libermann in sending missionaries to the dark continent.[1]

European Catholics were affected in some measure by equalitarian philosophy, and even Daniel O'Connell, the Irish liberator,

[1] *Dictionary of American Biography,* s. v. Taney; Sr. Frederick Lochemes, *Robert Walsh: His Story* (New York, 1941), 107-117; Madeleine Hooke Rice, *American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy* (New York, 1944); *Catholic Encyclopedia,* s. v. Liberia; *Works of the Rt. Rev. John England,* ed. by Sebastian G. Messmer (Cleveland, 1908), V, 182-311.

tried to stimulate American Catholics into an abolition movement, but his effort was promptly hindered in both the north and the south by two prominent sons of Ireland itself, Archbishop Hughes of New York and Bishop England of Charleston. It might not be amiss to point out that as abolitionism intrigued some Catholics a century ago, so also did other problems of sociology. The term "sociology" comes from August Comte and many of its principles have an equally suspicious origin. As Freemasonry with its love of man *as man* counterfeited the gospel in a subtle way, so did sociology usurp the place of moral theology which has its roots in the supernatural. Because of the confusion of these two sciences there have been difficulties like those of Lamennais, the Sillonists, McGlynn, and many others. For the same reason Catholics shunned the peace projects and other reform programs that were exceedingly popular at the very time that the abolition of slavery had elicited international enthusiasm.

Just about the time that Comte coined the term "sociology" an American moralist, Francis P. Kenrick, later archbishop of Baltimore, wrote a work on moral theology which appeared in Baltimore in 1841. Kenrick did not ignore slavery but he contented himself with this paragraph:

> What is to be thought of the domestic servitude which exists in most of the southern and western states where the posterity of those who were brought from Africa still remain in slavery? It is indeed to be regretted that in the present fulness of liberty, in which all glory, there should be so many slaves and that to guard against their movement it has been necessary to pass laws prohibiting their education and in some places greatly restricting their exercise of religion. Nevertheless, since such is the state of things, nothing should be attempted against the laws nor anything be done or said that would make them bear their yoke unwillingly. The prudence and the charity of the sacred ministers should appear in their effecting that the slaves, imbued with Christian morals, render service to their masters, venerating God, the Supreme Master of all; and that the masters be just and kind, and by their humanity and care for their salvation, endeavor to mitigate the condition of their slaves.

If that comment remained unknown except to priests who used the book for professional purposes, similar opinions found their way into the hands of the lay people because when abolitionism was inflaming the most remote areas of the north the Catholic press was becoming more and more articulate. The *Liberator,* which had been founded by William Lloyd Garrison, at the beginning of the civil war quoted the Boston (Catholic) *Pilot* which averred that by comparison abolition literature was more illegal than secession literature and that the latter was a consequence of the former. The abolitionists "really teach the dismemberment of the union for the furtherance of their emancipation principles." The *Pilot* argued that:

No one in times like these should be suffered to impugn the fundamental law of the nation. We have no personal animosity to abolitionists; but they are of no more value than a button near the integrity of the Republic. Does the administration hold the same principle? Will it show that it does? If it does, Fort Warren will soon be filled with abolitionists. Enough for today on this matter; but the complete safety and integrity of the Union require two things, each of them absolutely; the overthrow of rebellion in the south, and the overthrow of abolitionism in the north.[2]

In New Orleans Father Perché edited *Le Propagateur Catholique.* The paper, staunchly confederate, took notice of the fanaticism of the abolitionists, and boasted that the eleven states would defy it. The editor applauded Bishop Verot of Savannah when he preached his famous sermon justifying slavery, and, in announcing the French edition, the teaching of the abolitionists was denounced as false and criminal.[3]

In January, 1862, a series of articles in the same paper analyzed the revolutionary character of the movement insisting that there can be no society without a hierarchy and without order. All men cannot be made equal any more than all can be made to wear the same suit, granting that the garment itself be well made. Even universal suffrage was berated as an obstacle to the common welfare. "The right of all people to the same social, political, and civil liberties is an extravagance, impossible of realization,

[2]*The Liberator,* November 29, 1861.
[3]*Le Propagateur Catholique,* December 21, 1861; January 4, 1862.

and false in principle." Liberty depends upon social, political, and civil conditions, and such differences depend ultimately on God who distributes such gifts unequally. The revolutionaries, seeing no God but only man, act accordingly. Abolitionism is the child of revolutionary ideas which attack the principle of authority. Like Friedrich Schlegel, the editor claimed: "Protestantism, which has undermined religious authority, is the father of all the revolutions which for three centuries have convulsed the greater part of the civilized world." To call the spirit of revolution the spirit of progress can seduce only the ignorant. If this argumentation seems extreme, it must be remembered that to French readers the leveling philosophy of 1789 was well known. They could grasp the nexus between rationalism and abolitionism because they knew the terror that "equality" had brought their parents.

Bishop Martin of Natchitoches (Alexandria), a Frenchman by birth, in his letter on the war dated August 21, 1861, declared that the whites as more privileged members of the human family were not only to be masters of the blacks, but also their pastors. Though believing that Negroes were incapable of liberty and that it would actually harm them, he insisted that they receive in return for life labor not only the things necessary for the life of the body, but also their share of truth and grace. "Considered from this standpoint, which alone is true because it is providential, slavery, in spite of the sophisms of equality circulated during the eighteenth century, and in spite of the utopian and humanitarian extravagances of the present century as well as the hypocritical sentimentality of English philanthropists and northern Puritans, slavery, far from being an evil . . . is an arrangement eminently Christian by which millions pass from intellectual darkness to the sweet brilliance of the Gospel." Admitting that the south had its vices, as did Bishop Verot and James McMaster, he placed the war guilt on the thousands of preachers who from their "pulpits of pestilence" had inculcated hatred and discord, and he did not fail to indict interested orators, a "bought" press, and a party without a conscience seeking an impossible supremacy.[4]

[4] *Ibid.*, September 7, 14, 1861.

Less than a year after Bishop Martin had released his letter, the bishop of Orleans in France, Felix Dupanloup, wrote differently about slavery in his pastoral letter, dated April 6, 1862. Avowing that he had been informed that questions of tariff and political predominance had been of more importance than the question of slavery and avowing further that he had been apprized of the excesses of the abolitionists, he went on to say that the peace of the world had been threatened by the civil war which was being fought in America. Speaking of slavery he argued:

> How did man reduce man to slavery? I defy its explanation to me unless by original sin. How did the slave again become the equal of his master? I defy its explanation unless through the redemption. Slavery is so odious that its beginning cannot be comprehended, and it is so convenient that its ending cannot be comprehended. . . .
>
> The unity of the human family, the principle of dignity, of equality, of freedom, of humanity among mankind, condemns and rebukes slavery. . . .
>
> It is shown by experience, that slavery has never been the initiation and the training of liberty; the longer it endures the more it oppresses; the wider it extends the more it degrades; and never unravels itself by its sole action. You refuse to set slaves free, because you say that they are incapable of liberty, and I, I tell you that this incapacity is kept alive by servitude, if not created by it, and that it causes the slave to stagnate under it. . . .
>
> Is it not yet time, after eighteen centuries of Christianity, for us all to begin to practice the ever enduring law, "Do not to another that which you would not he should do to you; and that which ye would your brothers should do for you, do ye for them." . . .
>
> Religion softens even the lot of the poor slave by softening the heart of the master, but groans over a condition which keeps the man in a state of brutal abasement.[5]

---

[5]Dupanloup's letter is given in *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, XXIV, 18-29. The bishop mentioned with joy the message of Lincoln to the congress which was written in March, 1862, advocating federal aid for those states which would adopt a policy of gradual emancipation. He cited Cochin's book on slavery and he quoted the provincial council of Bordeaux, held in 1853, in which the prelates condemned slavery after it had been abolished three years earlier

The letter of this French prelate was wildly acclaimed in some circles but it came at so late a date that it did not have much influence on events in America.

German prelates apparently were not so interested in slavery, for they kept silent, and Father J. M. Henni's *Wahrheitsfreund* which appeared in Cincinnati devoted little space to the subject. Its issue of August 17, 1837, declared that while every Christian hates slavery, he does not therefore start a riot. The founding fathers tolerated many evils to accomplish one great thing, the union. North and south were content to differ on some matters, but foreign foes and native traitors saw in abolitionism an opportunity for discord. English tories and preachers, wolves in sheep's clothing, in the opinion of the editor, were instigating civil war. The issue of April 20, 1854, castigated abolitionists for setting themselves above existing law and for letting emotions obscure the question of ownership. The spirit of the north was characterized as being less a Christian sentiment of helping the oppressed, than a hatred of the slave system and political opposition to the south. "We, too, want abolition," said the editor, "but not by way of disregarding established rights." Aware of criticism, the paper defended the seeming indifference of Catholics by saying: "The Church condemns slavery, but where she cannot abrogate it, instead of pouring oil on the fire, she preaches gentleness and mercy to the master and tries to elevate the slave by instruction, divine worship, and the sacraments." In 1857 increased immigration was proposed as a means of crushing slavery on the supposition that the southerners would abandon slavery as soon as they found it unprofitable.[6] Lastly, *Der Wahrheitsfreund,* unswayed by the negrophile propaganda, observed sedately that Canada, which once welcomed the Negroes, soon found them a nuisance, often guilty of stealing and too lazy to work.[7]

in the French colonies.

Bishop Lynch of Charleston writing from Paris to the confederate secretary of state in the summer of 1864 emphasized that the French people had a "deep prejudice against slavery." See *The American Catholic Historical Researches,* XXII, 259.

[6]*Der Wahrheitsfreund* (Catholic weekly, 1837-1907), March 26, 1857.

[7]*Ibid.,* December 15, 1859.

From 1850 to 1865 thirty-three editorials of the *New York Freeman's Journal* dealt with slavery to the detriment of the abolitionists. A few priests had subscribed to the idea that slavery was a crime, and McMaster, the editor, queried whether they excelled St. Thomas Aquinas who maintained that slavery was not of divine right, but had been introduced by man for the mutual advantage of masters and slaves. If these few priests irked the editor, the majority pleased him by their peaceful conduct, a fact which received due publicity. In 1856 McMaster observed that the nation was headed for revolution owing to papers such as the *New York Daily Tribune,* books like *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and the philippics of Theodore Parker. In 1859 Mrs. Stowe was again denounced as an authoress who, though knowing little of the south, had produced "a mischievous bad book of universal circulation." Anent John Brown, McMaster said that while the abolitionists preached treason, he practised it; they furnished the rifles, he fired them.[8]

It would be interesting to know what few priests McMaster had in mind. Many priests must have known about the stations on the underground railroad where runaway slaves were aided, and it is a safe conclusion that rarely, if ever, did the clergy regard it is their duty to disclose such places to the authorities.[9] Right in New York there was an abolitionist in the ranks of the Catholic clergy. He was Father Thomas Farrell, the pastor of St. Joseph's church. Had it not been for the fact that his assistant during the civil war was Father Edward McGlynn, later of Single Tax fame, Father Farrell would have been forgotten.[10]

Down in New Orleans a certain Father Claude Maistre began to incite Negroes against the whites late in 1862 and early in

[8]Cuthbert Allen, "The Slavery Question in Catholic Newspapers 1850-1865," *Historical Records and Studies,* XXVI, 98-169.

[9]One such place was near Notre Dame university. See Arthur Hope, *Notre Dame One Hundred Years* (Notre Dame, 1943), 118.

[10]*Dictionary of American Biography,* s. v. McGlynn. In St. Peter's church, Brooklyn, Father Joseph Fransioli preached a sermon concerning patriotism on July 26, 1863, which was printed as No. 24 in the pamphlet series of the Loyal Publication Society. While that was a propaganda group, Fransioli's sermon was calm and free from political implications.

1863. His archbishop instructed him to change his tactics but the prelate's authority did not equal the priest's tenacity, so the latter was suspended, his church, dedicated to St. Rose of Lima, was interdicted, and eventually Maistre started a schismatical church which he abandoned before his death.[11]

The Catholic *Mirror* of Baltimore, although a southern sheet, paralleled the *Freeman's Journal.* The contention of some that slavery was an ordinance of God was denounced and priests with abolitionist leanings were asked: "If the cassock is allowed by the wearer to trail in the filthy mire of partisan politics, can it escape the contamination of the contact?" The *Mirror* maintained that slave labor was not economical because a free laborer does not work on Sundays and rainy days, but he supports himself on those days. Likewise in sickness and old age he cares for himself. The Yankee found that slavery was expensive, so he outlawed it, but he clung to the cruel slave trade because that was lucrative, even though the slave trade was illegal since 1808.

Like the *Freeman's Journal,* the *Mirror* regarded slavery as the cause of the war, but after the fall of Fort Sumter the question of slavery became secondary to the cause of peace and loyalty. The *Mirror* had endorsed eventual emancipation, but, when the war swept away slavery with one coup, the *Mirror* contented itself with saying:

> If he, the Negro, ever reaches that comparative equality to which the sword has given him the right to aspire, we maintain that the Catholic Church can alone qualify him to fulfill the onerous responsibilities of his new position; and through her agency alone do we look for his real regeneration.

The Catholic *Telegraph* was approvingly quoted by the *Milwaukee Sentinel* in 1863 because it urged Catholics not to aid the

[11]Roger Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1939), 413. Father Thaddeus Butler, Chicago, was sometimes referred to as an abolitionist.

In St. Louis Father Ferdinand Garesché, S. J., caused his superiors embarrassment by openly sympathizing with the south. It was still more disconcerting because his brother Julius was an officer in the union army.

In Maryland the Redemptorists tried to keep peace in the community by forbidding the members to read newspapers and to discuss the war.

restoration of slavery. While the editors were fearing a decrease in circulation, the reaction was favorable, so much so that the *Telegraph* attacked its rivals as follows:

> Some of our Catholic journals in the East are now engaged in a strange work. First, advocating the perpetuity of slavery, the greatest wrong that one man can do to another; second, exposing the powers that be to contempt, and inviting the people to disobedience; third, encouraging resistance to law; fourth, giving aid and comfort to those in rebellion against the constituted authorities. Do our friends suppose that these things will be forgotten, or that the Church will not be made to suffer for their invectives?[12]

While Catholic weeklies were opposing the abolitionists, Orestes Brownson was eruditely doing the same in his *Review*. Emphatically he declared himself alike an enemy of slavery and of abolitionism. How terrible to debase man made to the likeness of God, yet what madness to free him by subverting law and order! Without the supremacy of law there is no guarantee of freedom for black or white, and after emancipation the black will suffer from tyranny because he is unable to defend his liberty. As early as 1838 Brownson perceived that the abolitionists did not want debate but action, and he was convinced that the vitality of the free soil party was not solely hatred of slavery. "Half unknown to itself, it is a party organized against all the principles and maxims of the past, and all the moral, religious, social, and political institutions of the present. . . . With the cant of religion and morality on their lips, its leaders are, almost to a man, infidels and blasphemers, as well as traitors and disorganizers."[13] Though it was the fashion to protest against the fugitive slave law and to pass resolutions to thwart it, Brownson commented: "It is a sad day for both public and private morals, when treason is regarded as a virtue, and the traitor punished for his treason is looked upon as a martyr."[14]

Not long after the fugitive slave law was enacted Brownson wrote that it was far from certain that slavery would be mitigated

---

[12]*Milwaukee Sentinel*, June 22, 1863; May 13, 1863.
[13]Brownson, *Works*, XVII, 26.
[14]*Ibid.*, 28.

by emancipation, and he believed that the northern Negroes were just as immoral and heathen as those in slavery. If they would have the right to vote the whole country would be at the mercy of the lowest demagogues. Sending the Negroes back to Africa, he regarded as "perfectly visionary," yet he admitted that where two races avoid intermarriage there could be no equality and the stronger race would always predominate and oppress the weaker. The best solution that he could propose was voluntary emigration which the government ought to promote and facilitate. Atrocity stories left the philosopher untouched because as late as 1857 he dared to publish in the north the statement that the Negroes in the south were in general treated with kindness, they were sufficiently clothed and fed, and that they were not overworked. They were, as a matter of fact, happy enough to sing at work and had enough energy left to dance at night which was more than could be said of many whites. Nevertheless, Brownson was no friend of slavery, he only tolerated it while he defended the thesis that man is by nature free and only local law can modify his status.

Because Brownson approached the problem concretely he demanded indemnity for slaveholders. The law had permitted them to invest capital in slaves, and, hence, to free them in one stroke would be a denial of private property and a claim for the state of the right to plunder its subjects.[15] During the war, however, Brownson, realizing the military advantages of emancipation, evolved a theory to justify it. His fundamental proposition was that by secession a state commits suicide, and the land formerly occupied by it reverts to the federal government. By nature man is indeed free, but local law can authorize slavery. Since such law is abrogated by the demise of the state, slaves in a seceded state are *ipso facto* free.[16] Brownson expected emancipation to win four million southern people to the north because they would see liberty on the horizon of victory. The south would be without a labor supply, and many men would have to remain at home to defend their families and belongings, while in the north several

[15] *Ibid.*, 21; 305.

[16] *Ibid.*, 232.

thousand more men would volunteer if the incentive of emancipation were given. Foreign nations would be more friendly to the north, and the domination of politics by the slave interest for self protection would be at an end.[17]

Brownson, who often had discussed aspects of slavery, was drawn into a controversy with Archbishop Hughes in 1861. The prelate ventured to refute the philosopher's widely read article "Slavery and the War," but he quoted Brownson incorrectly as maintaining that the purpose of the war was the freeing of the slaves. The archbishop in his exuberance said more than he meant and was interpreted as actually favoring the slave trade. In fact, Brownson and Hughes agreed on major points: both hated slavery, both recognized property rights of masters, both were aware of the race problem, both maintained that the war was fought not for abolition but for the constitution, and both believed that the government could free the slaves as a war measure. Writing to Seward on October 10, 1861, Hughes remarked: "If I had not corrected the reviewer's position, he would have done vast mischief, without, I think, intending it, to the struggle in which the country is now engaged. Some of our editors are exceedingly thoughtless in discussing abolitionism of slavery through the instrumentality of the government and of the army."[18] Brownson, on the other hand, wrote to Montalembert in France that Hughes had published his attack to check antislavery sentiment, and to bring the proslavery prejudices of the Irish-Americans to bear against his *Review*.[19] Abolitionism was anathema to the archbishop because of its fanaticism and opposition to the constitution. In one of his irate moments he said: "Sometimes it has appeared to us that abolitionism . . . stands in need of a strait jacket and the humane protection of a lunatic asylum. . . . The crime charged against the adherents of what is called the southern confederacy

---

[17]*Ibid.*, 173-174.

[18]John Hassard, *Life of the Most Reverend John Hughes* (New York, 1866), 437.

[19]Henry Brownson, *Life of Orestes Brownson* (Detroit, 1898), III, 365 ff.

. . . has been attempted by the abolitionists, but not in the candid bravery of the secessionists."[20]

In gaily ridiculing the abolitionists, the archbishop prepared grief for himself because his article was widely discussed in French newspapers. A few weeks later when Hughes arrived in France to plead for the north he was asked to explain his platform. This was particularly embarrassing when he met Augustin Cochin, the celebrated social reformer and author of *L'Abolition de l' Esclavage,* whom the archbishop had ventured to say knew nothing of American slavery. Most Europeans were unfriendly to the north with the exception of a few men like Cochin, Dupanloup, and Montalembert, but with these keymen Hughes first had to clear his name.[21]

That Hughes' trip to Europe left him unchanged regarding slavery is indicated by an unpublished article written in December, 1862. When the emancipation proclamation was being hotly discussed, the editor of the *American Quarterly Church Review* asked the archbishop for an opinion. Hughes complied, but in the meantime the editor changed his mind, so the statement did not see print. The reason which Hughes gave for his disapproval was fear of interracial warfare such as had produced the massacre of Santo Domingo. He visualized burning dwellings, fear and flight, the clubbing of the recent master, and the violation of his mother, wife, sister, and daughter. Though deprecating the proclamation, the archbishop conceded that Lincoln was as true to the union as any man in the land, and that no president, not even Washington, had been more honest or patriotic.[22]

---

[20]Rena Andrews, "Slavery Views of a Northern Prelate," *Church History,* March 1934, 65.

[21]In a letter to Cochin, January 28, 1862, Hughes informed him that the people whom he regarded as authorities were infidels or fanatics. "Channing, for instance, was a Socinian, if not an infidel. Parker did not hesitate to preach or write against the divinity of our Lord. He maintained that there would be other and better Christs than the one who died on Calvary."

[22]Andrews, *art. cit.,* 71 ff. The archbishop's fear of pogroms may be related to the fact that he visited Haiti and Santo Domingo as a young man. He must have heard much about the massacre of Santo Domingo.

Archbishop Purcell, whose loyalty to the union resembled that of Hughes, said in 1862:

The North could have ended the war in three months if it had freed the slaves and taken them into the army. Out of humanity, it did not do so. The north did not want to set the passions of the slaves against their masters and families. The south showed its gratitude by inciting the Indians of the west against us.[23]

About a year later, he said he did not believe that freed Negroes would come north in droves to supplant white laborers. It was Purcell's wish that everyone, regardless of color, be free, for, "The Catholic church has always been the friend of human liberty, just as it was the task of Christ to set men free. He who tries to perpetuate slavery disrespects the doctrine and example of Christ."[24]

The official epilogue to the Catholic attitude was written in 1866 by the second plenary council of Baltimore which lamented that emancipation should have been gradual and that the Negroes should have been prepared better for freedom.[25]

Summing up the situation, the abolition movement may be characterized as a good cause which became entangled in and identified with politics. It was furthered by revolutionary characters, radical thought, and illegal activity. Catholics could not associate themselves with such a movement, and they were too

---

Besides this, his sister Margaret had married into a family whose ancestors had fled to the United States from Santo Domingo in 1793.

[23]*Wahrheitsfreund,* September 3, 1862.

[24]*Ibid.,* November 11, 1863.

[25]Father Helmprächt, a Redemptorist, in June 1865, was pessimistic. In the *Berichte* of the Leopoldine Society which appeared in Austria he wrote that the whites seem to have become slaves, and the slaves beasts. See XXXV, 21-7.

The *Freeman's Journal,* April 29, 1865, observed that the Puritans once upon a time were interested in the Indians but now these have been abandoned. In Minnesota 259 Negroes were given the right to vote, but 10,000 Indians did not receive that privilege.

insignificant politically and socially to advance a program of their own.[26]

---

[26]Pope Leo XIII discussed slavery on May 5, 1888, in the document *In Plurimis*. In Brazil many slaves were set free on the occasion of Leo XIII's golden sacerdotal jubilee. The pope did not fail to compliment Dom Pedro II by saying that "this popular feeling has been strongly seconded by the emperor and his august daughter." Among other things Leo XIII said:

"The system of slavery is one which is wholly opposed to that which was originally ordained by God and by nature. The Supreme Author of all things decreed that man should exercise a sort of royal dominion over beasts and cattle and fish and fowl, but never that men should exercise a like dominion over their fellow men. . . . History is full of examples showing what a seed bed of crime, what a pest and calamity, this system has been for states. Hatreds are excited in the breasts of the slaves, and the masters are kept in a state of suspicion and perpetual dread. The slaves prepare to avenge themselves with the torches of the incendiary and the masters continue the task of oppression with greater cruelty. States are disturbed alternately by the number of the slaves and by the violence of the masters, and so are easily overthrown. . . . The church has deprecated any precipitate action in securing the manumission and liberation of the slaves because that would have entailed tumults and wrought injury as well to the slaves themselves as to the commonwealth, but with singular wisdom she has seen that the minds of the slaves should be instructed through her discipline in the Christian faith, and with baptism should acquire habits suitable to the Christian life. Therefore, when, amid the slave multitude whom she has numbered among her children, some, led astray by a hope of liberty, have had recourse to violence and sedition, the Church has always condemned these unlawful efforts and opposed them, and through her ministers has applied the remedy of patience." See *Social Wellsprings Fourteen Epochal Documents by Leo XIII*, ed. by Joseph Husslein (Milwaukee, 1940), 94-108.

III

THE BISHOPS OF THE NORTH

At the outbreak of the civil war the United States had about thirty million inhabitants. Ten per cent of these were Catholics. In revolutionary days Catholics numbered about thirty thousand, or one per cent of the population. There was not a single bishop in the colonies, but in 1861 there were seven archbishops and thirty-seven bishops. Three-fourths of them lived in loyal territory, and almost all of these were located east of the Mississippi river. Since the dioceses of greatest prestige were in the north, the secession of the eleven southern states divided the Catholics into two extremely unequal groups.

A comprehensive view of the role of the Church during the war can be obtained by examining the files of any representative Catholic newspaper. They abound in speeches and letters of the bishops which urged both priests and people to prayer and penance.[1] The collects *Pro Pace* and *Pro Quacumque Tribulatione* were prescribed, the litany of the saints was recommended, and also less official prayers like the devotion to the five wounds. When President Lincoln issued proclamations designating certain days as prayer days for all citizens, the request of the chief executive was reiterated by the hierarchy. Since the civil authority asked for prayers, the action of the hierarchy manifested a spirit of cooperation. Public prayers, moreover, helped substantially to create favorable war sentiment because a hundred years ago all churches played a larger role in the lives of their members than they do today.

At the outset it may be observed that some bishops were far removed from the battle front. For that reason they had little occasion to discuss the conflict from a political standpoint, but men like Bishop Baraga, who lived in northern Michigan, did

[1]See Joseph Frese, "The Hierarchy and Peace in the War of Secession," *Thought*, June, 1943, 293-305.

complain of the damaging effects of the war such as depopulation and exorbitant prices.[2]

Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, who was uncomfortably close to the dividing line, avoided commenting on the inflammable subject so meticulously that he abstained from preaching for a long time in order to avoid misinterpretations. Although he was diplomatically silent his sympathies were more with the south than with the north, yet as early as January 12, 1861, he issued this statement:

Beloved Brethren, in the present distressed state of the public mind, we feel it our duty to recommend to you to avoid all occasions of public excitement, to obey the laws, to respect the rights of citizens, and to keep away as much as possible, from all assemblages where the indiscretion of a word or the impetuosity of a momentary passion might endanger public tranquillity. Obey the injunction of the apostle St. Peter: Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man can see God.

Contemporaneously with the outbreak of hostilities the chief shepherd of St. Louis wrote in his pastoral letter:

Remember that any aggression by individuals or bodies not recognized by the laws, from which loss of life may follow, is an act of murder, of which everyone engaged in such aggression is guilty no matter how great and galling the provocation may have been and bear in mind that under the influence of such unholy feelings as lead to such acts, the innocent are confounded with the guilty or those who are presumed to be such.

Upon being asked to fly the American flag from the cathedral the archbishop refused dramatically with the words: "No other banner may be placed there, for already there stands one which alone shall stay, the banner of the Church," and with his hand he pointed to the cross on the spire. At the end of the war the new constitution of Missouri required that all clergymen, as a condition for performing their duties, take an oath of allegiance, stating that they never had been disloyal. This was a blow at all

[2]Chrysostomus Verwyst, *Life of Bishop Baraga* (Milwaukee, 1900), 334-345.

who had not been federalists, and there were many such in the border state of Missouri. The archbishop, who had been meek throughout the war, rose to the occasion, fought the legal battle at his own expense, and ultimately the clergy were freed from the burden of deriving their authority from the state.[3]

Bishop Martin Spalding of Louisville, a southern man by birth and sympathy, when consulted about making a public statement on the war, advised letting individuals form their own opinions.[4] Personally he avoided politics so carefully that he never cast a vote in his life, but he often touched on the war in his lively correspondence with Archbishop Purcell. Fortunately for the historian, the letters are on file at Notre Dame university.

In a letter of February 27, 1861, the bishop of Louisville expressed the opinion that there would be no civil war because Lincoln had been frightened into common sense. On April 11, however, he was praying God to avert civil war, and to restrain fanatics like Chase and Dennison. Ten days later Spalding told his croziered confrère that he had read the *Telegraph* and was pained to see how the Catholics of Ohio had fallen in with the black republicans and were favoring war with the south. At a later date he told that the Catholics of the extreme south felt very bitter toward those of the north. Early in 1862 Spalding repeated his disapproval of the *Telegraph's* policy of giving political events so much publicity. He also mentioned his need for chaplains in the hospitals and in the camps, and he added that Bishop Whelan of Nashville likewise needed another priest to care for confederate soldiers.

In April, 1863, Spalding wrote to Purcell to assure him that

---

[3]John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1928), II, 211-213; *Life of the Most Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick* (St. Louis, 1891), 24-25; John J. O'Shea, *The Two Kenricks* (Philadelphia, 1904), 296.

When the war broke out Father Abram Ryan, the poet-priest, was in the archdiocese of St. Louis, and he devoted his services to the soldiers of the south. After the war he did not return but remained in the deep south.

[4]Richard H. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops* (New York, 1888), III, 22.

he had nothing to do with an article in the *Louisville Democrat* which was hostile to the *Telegraph*. In December, Spalding declined to make any suggestions about the pope's wishes for peace. He, however, pointed out that the recent letter of Pope Pius IX was above political agitation, and he was pleased to observe that Archbishop Odin's pastoral letter which appeared in the *Telegraph* was likewise free from political implications. Two weeks later Spalding wrote to Purcell advising him not to issue any peace pastoral if it could not be entirely free from politics. In March, 1864, Spalding discussed his transfer to the archdiocese of Baltimore as successor to Archbishop Francis Kenrick, who had died during the war. Since both sees were near to the national capital and to the sectional dividing line the government could hardly remain indifferent to the appointment. Gossip abounded and Spalding dispatched the news to Purcell that it was not Bishop Young of Erie who had conferred with the government about the appointment but rather Bishop Domenec of Pittsburgh. The latter, while sojourning in Washington, where he was popular, visited Seward and told him that Spalding did not believe in meddling with politics. Apparently that had pleased the secretary of state. The same letter which dealt with the appointment of an archbishop mentioned that Father John Finucane had given great scandal in Lebanon, Kentucky, by toasting Jefferson Davis, and on this occasion in some way he had almost embroiled two young priests.

Later in the year Spalding asked the chief shepherd of Cincinnati about the Fenians. Being a movement for the liberation of Ireland, it must have been painful for Purcell to denounce it because he himself was intensely interested in Irish affairs. Many Irish soldiers in the northern army were ardently hoping to humiliate Britain by humbling her protégé, the south, and to aid their emerald fatherland, but the archbishop conscientiously admitted that the spirit of the Fenians was evil. Apart from their subversive political aims, the Fenians fell under the ban of secret societies, and the question which occasioned Spalding's letter was whether an organization which held national congresses could be considered a secret society.

After 1865 the war vanished from their correspondence. On June 21, 1865, Spalding confided that he had appealed to the secretary of state to allow Bishop Lynch of Charleston, an erstwhile partisan of the confederacy, to return from Europe to the United States, and he urged Purcell to do likewise in view of the fact that Lynch's return would have a tranquilizing effect on the country. Six weeks later Spalding relayed the news that President Johnson had pardoned Lynch, and he added that as for Fenianism, the best thing would be to let it destroy itself.

At the beginning of the war a number of bishops displayed the American flag on their cathedrals. Archbishops Hughes and Purcell did so in New York and Cincinnati and Bishops Domenec, Henni, and Wood followed suit in Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia. Soon afterward, on May 2, Bishop Timon displayed the stars and stripes on his residence in Buffalo and delivered a patriotic address. Regarding the flag incident, Archbishop Hughes wrote on May 7, 1861:

> The flag on the cathedral was erected with my permission and approval. It was at the same time an act of expediency going before a necessity likely to be urged upon me by the dictation of enthusiasm in this city. I preferred that no such dictation of necessity should overtake us; because, if it had, the press would have sounded the report that the Catholics were disloyal, and no act of ours afterward could sufficiently vindicate us from the imputation.[5]

This statement from the pen of Hughes serves in some measure for all the bishops. They knew from numerous public attacks of recent date the virulence of religious bigotry. Hughes' reasoning was sound, and the conduct which it dictated did much to make Catholics respected as loyal citizens. Probably the bishops had determined their line of conduct before the crisis of Fort Sumter.

---

[5]James McMaster of the *Freeman's Journal* was not impressed with the display of the flag. His comment was: Flags from spires will soon mean political harangues from pulpits.

John Hassard, *Life of the Most Rev. John Hughes* (New York, 1866), 439; *Wahrheitsfreund,* April 25, 1861; May 30, 1861; *Milwaukee Sentinel,* April 26, 1861.

Since Bishop Quinlan of Mobile had discussed the union and constitution in a pastoral letter of January, 1861,[6] the northern bishops could not have been taken by surprise.

In war times emotions often supplant reason, whereas in times of stress reason should be used more than in normal times. Since the Catholic church operates on principles, and not on emotions, her leaders ought to be men of reason. Accordingly, the metropolitan of New York wrote serenely to Bishop Lynch of Charleston on August 23, 1861:

I am an advocate for the sovereignty of every state in the union within the limits recognized and approved of by its own representative authority, when the constitution was agreed upon. . . . But the constitution having been formed by the common consent of all the parties engaged in the framework and approval thereof, I maintain that no state has a right to secede, except in the manner provided for in the document itself.[7]

Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati took the same view of the southern attitude. When a certain Mr. Pugh had declared that the people of the south were disposed to allow northern steamers to navigate the Mississippi, but that they would never carry on commerce under the former system, the archbishop curtly answered: "This is a question of right, not of utility."[8]

Throughout the war Purcell gave abundant evidence of his patriotism, but never was he more eloquent than when he wrote his Thanksgiving recommendation in 1864. Part of it follows:

We Catholics have largely shared in the blessings of health, abundant harvests, and exemption from the ravages of war, which God has granted to the people of the north. Our sins have as largely merited the chastisement which has overtaken our erring brethren of the south, and which has cost the life-blood of so

[6] *Wahrheitsfreund,* June 11, 1862.

[7] Hassard, *op. cit.,* 438. The letters of Lynch and Hughes were printed in full in the *New York Daily Tribune,* September 5, 1861. On August 4, 1861, Lynch wrote: "The separation of the southern states is *un fait accompli.* The Federal government has no power to reverse it. Sooner or later it must be recognized. Why preface the recognition by a war equally needless and bloody?"

[8] *Wahrheitsfreund,* November 11, 1863.

many thousands of our own brave soldiers, who have left their pleasant homes to check the advance of the foe and confine the deadly strife to the battle fields on which it madly originated. Our hopes for future happiness on earth are vain, if the peace, the prosperity, the progress of arts, sciences, and religion, which have distinguished us among all the nations of the earth for fourscore and eight years, and which, under the divine blessing, are mainly attributable to our constitution and union, be not continued by the maintenance of the union, and the elimination of those defects which, Christian civilization and our experience have shown us, the constitution contained. It therefore becomes our solemn duty to observe with no ordinary fervor the national holiday; and as we cannot enjoy, and should not desire, peace, happiness, and independence, except in the society of our fellow-citizens, we should pray for and promote, by every means in our power, their welfare as well as our own.

We confess that it has greatly pained us to hear that certain rash, irreverent, and thoughtless men of our communion have denounced and cursed the government, the administration, and their abettors. Now God commands us to bless, and curse not, and when bad men cursed the supporters of the government, did they not reflect that they cursed the more than hundreds of thousands of Catholic voters, and Catholic soldiers of our army, who defended that government on the field? *Did they not reflect that its downfall would be hailed with acclamation by our own hereditary oppressors across the ocean? Did they not reflect that, if political salvation is ever to reach a far distant and beloved island, it must come to it from these United States which they would sever.*

There is no justifying cause, or reason, to curse the government or the administration. They did not commence this war. They could scarcely bring themselves to believe that it was seriously commenced, even when forts had fallen and the blood of our people was shed by the hands of the south. And when force had to be repelled by force, when armies had to be raised, and, therefore, troops to be drafted to raise the blockade of our rivers, and stem the tide of aggression, what more did our government do than was done in the south? Where in the north was the draft, the conscription, enforced as ruthlessly and as indiscriminately as in the south? Where was the citizens' property confiscated, without compensation, for the alleged uses of the government, as it was in the south? We have conversed with Irish Catholic refugees from Georgia, from Arkansas, from Alabama, and other southern

states, and we know how they were stripped of their money and their clothes and cast into prison, when they refused to go into the ranks of the confederate army. Many an Irish laborer told us in the hospitals, here and elsewhere, that, when the war broke out in the south, and the public works were suspended, they were either violently conscribed, or had to enlist, or starve.[9]

In Chicago, Bishop Duggan of that city did not go nearly so far as Archbishop Purcell, but he had asked his diocese to pray for the union before the war broke out. As soon as hostilities had opened, the flag was raised with enthusiasm at the bishop's residence and at St. Mary of the Lake university. The bishop supported the Irish Brigade, and his viewpoint was supported by his official household, including Father John McMullen, who later became the first bishop of Davenport, Iowa.[10]

Bishop Smyth of Dubuque wrote to Adjutant General N. B. Baker:

> In my opinion the union cause is also an affair of law, order, and justice. You know that I keep political affairs separate from my holy duties, but in the present hour of danger, when the honor and fortune of our nation are at stake, I do not hesitate to declare openly that my feelings and convictions are for the union, and, that, although peace is dear to me, I cannot consent to purchase peace at the price of principle.[11]

---

[9]Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 214. See *infra*, 64.

[10]Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York, 1940), II, 379-389.

The following from Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War The Story of the Copperheads* (New York, 1942), 71, does not agree well: "In the strongly democratic Irish mining section around Dubuque, Iowa, it was asserted that men were having their homes burned for enlisting in the Union army. In a number of communities expressions of open sympathy with the south began to be heard. One of these was in Chicago, where a nucleus of people of southern origin, a large Irish contingent whose Roman Catholic Bishop Duggan made little show of support for the Union cause, and an influx of gamblers whom the war had driven from their usual haunts on the floating palaces of the lower Mississippi, combined to make the city a place where it was commonplace to hear boasted hopes for the confederacy."

[11]*Wahrheitsfreund*, October 17, 1861.

In 1863 Smyth forbade the faithful to join secret societies even if they were only political and reminded them that the Church demands obedience

In the west of that day the university of Notre Dame, owing to its Irish character and despite its French origins, had become well known as a northern citadel. Many of its priests had gone into the army as chaplains and its student body included the children of General Sherman. However, the bishop of Fort Wayne, John Luers, made a sobering address early in the war when he blessed the cornerstone of a church in Mishawaka, Indiana. Among other things he said:

> The church does not exist to preach politics, abolition or anti-abolition, nor does she exist to discuss current questions. Let the affairs of the statesmen be the temporal things; the affairs of the clergy the spiritual. . . . The views of the church on political matters are well known; she demands submission and reasonable obedience to every lawfully constituted authority, be it a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a republic.[12]

The reference to abolition is significant because the movement against slavery was characterized by violence. Slavery was frequently depicted as the real issue of the war. Archbishop Hughes defined the case in an article versus Orestes Brownson saying that the war was being waged for the preservation of the union and the constitution, not for the extirpation of slavery. "Union and constitution, not abolitionism, is the battle cry of our warriors."[13] In a letter to Simon Cameron, the secretary of war, Hughes wrote:

> There is being insinuated in this part of the country an idea to the effect that the purpose of this war is the abolition of slavery in the south. If that idea should prevail among a certain class, it would make the business of recruiting slack indeed. The Catholics, so far as I know, whether of native or foreign birth, are willing to fight to the death for the support of the constitution, the government, and the laws of the country. But if it should be understood

---

to both spiritual and temporal rulers in all things that are right and just.

In 1863 Mr. Denis Mahony attacked Archbishop Hughes in the *Dubuque Herald* for his stand on conscription. The archbishop defended himself in a letter to the paper.

[12] *Wahrheitsfreund,* June 13, 1861.

Arthur Hope, *Notre Dame One Hundred Years* (Notre Dame, 1943), gives a detailed account of the university during the war.

[13] *Wahrheitsfreund,* October 31, 1861.

that, with or without knowing it, they are to fight for the abolition of slavery, then, indeed, they will turn away in disgust from the discharge of what would otherwise be a patriotic duty.[14]

Slavery had become the topic of the day, and, as the Church was vituperated for not condemning it unreservedly, it was prudent to emphasize the fundamental issue of the war.

Another problem involving the hierarchy was the opposition to the draft. At the beginning of the war volunteers were called for, but when this system proved inadequate Lincoln signed the draft law making all men of military age subject to service. The names of all the liable were placed in revolving cylinders from which sufficient names were taken to fill the quotas.[15] The law was somewhat unfair because it excused anyone furnishing a substitute or paying $300. The law met terrific opposition because it offered a loophole to the rich, whereas the poor had to pay with their blood. Another irritant was the gerrymandering of the quotas by the ruling party so as to place unfair burdens on democratic districts. Legal arguments also had their inning. The democrats denounced the measure as unconstitutional on the ground that military service was due only to the states. The republicans brandished the constitutional phrase giving congress the power "to raise and support armies" and maintained successfully that this implied the right to fix the method of raising armies.

On Monday, July 13, 1863, a mob destroyed the draft headquarters in New York; buildings were burned; Negroes were tortured and shot; rioters and police battled in the streets, and the city was demoralized for several days. This demonstration involved Archbishop Hughes because in his sermon after returning from Europe in 1862, he had advocated conscription. Horace

---

[14]Hassard, *op. cit.*, 437.

[15]Names of priests were also included, and many had to pay $300 for exemption. Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), II, 164, appropriately remarks: "No evidence appears to be at hand that any Catholic priests served in the union armies as drafted soldiers. On the other hand, in the World War hundreds of ordained clerics in pursuance of iniquitous conscription laws bore arms and shed their blood on the battlefields of Europe."

Greeley, the editor of the *New York Daily Tribune,* lost no time in reminding the mob of the sermon:

The first man we ever heard advocate a general conscription for the prosecution of the war for the union was Archbishop Hughes, in his sermon directly after his last return from Europe last year. He condemned the reliance on volunteering as hazardous and as placing too large a share of the burden on the generous and public spirited, urging that, since the obligation to serve rested equally on all, the liability or risk should be apportioned accordingly.[16]

Hughes realized the importance of this newspaper notice and protested to the editor. The former said that he had not recommended compulsory conscription, but that he had urged the nation voluntarily to demand conscription in order to end the war speedily. Literally, he had said that, but his remarks could easily have been misinterpreted. For example, in one passage he said:

Volunteers have been appealed to, and they have answered the appeal; but for my own part, if I had a voice in the councils of the nation, I would say, let volunteers continue, and the draft be made. . . . This is humanity, anything that will put an end to this draggling of human blood across the whole surface of the country. Then every man, rich and poor, will have to take his share. . . . The people themselves should insist upon being drafted.[17]

In refuting Greeley, Hughes practically repeated himself: "I did not recommend coercive conscription, but that the people of the north, who stand by the federal government, should demand conscription by their voluntary choice and act. This would be their own system of volunteering." The archbishop also explained why he wanted the war brought to a speedy end. Finding many widows and orphans in his diocese he asked:

How could this have happened? Was it all voluntary on the part of those who abandoned their homes to defend their country? I knew to a great extent it was. . . . This would be one class. . . .

---

[16]*New York Daily Tribune,* July 14, 1863.

[17]*Complete Works of the Most Rev. John Hughes,* ed. by Lawrence Kehoe (New York, 1864), II, 369.

But there was another class; it was composed of those Irish and Catholic citizens or laborers employed by men of wealth. [The latter closed their factories in order to force them into the army.] . . . Sooner than witness such mean and base tricks upon unfortunate laborers, I was then, and am now, prepared to approve of a thousand conscriptions openly appointed by the government; provided, however, that the same shuffling and low trickery shall not be employed to expose the poor to the dangers of battle, and leave the wealthy to become wealthier in their private homes.[18]

In writing to Secretary Seward on November 1, 1862, he spoke of the impartiality of conscription deeming it "the only fair, open, honest mode by which a nation can support its rights, and, in case of danger, its own independence," even though he conceded that the draft could be dispensed with, if there were sufficient volunteers.[19]

Having been challenged by Horace Greeley, the archbishop, in his characteristic, grandiose way invited the rioters to come to his home on Friday, July 17, 1863, at two o'clock in the afternoon.[20] He asked them to come to him because rheumatism confined him to his residence. Five thousand people came to hear the prelate speak from the balcony of his home. It was his last public address. While it was eloquent, and directed especially to the Irish, the issues were avoided, but the crowd was impressed and frequently interrupted the speaker with applause and acclamations. Much significance cannot be attached to this dramatic event because the riot had already begun to wane, and, secondly, the treacherous characters were absent.[21] The next day, he wrote to Seward that the genuine cause for the disturbance was not the draft, but the belief that black labor would compete on a par

[18]*Ibid.*, 544-546.

[19]*Ibid.*, 541.

[20]Governor Seymour had asked the archbishop to help re-establish order. See Thomas Meehan, "Archbishop Hughes and the Draft Riots," in United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies* (New York, 1900), vol. I, pt. II, 171-190.

[21]Priests in New York preached peace and loyalty. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 20, 1863. In Troy, N. Y., a mob was addressed twice by Father Havermans, and through his efforts the colored people's church was spared. *Ibid.*, July 17, 1863.

with white labor and thereby reduce wages and cause unemployment. This belief, according to Hughes, was not spontaneous, but was instilled by a disloyal faction. Regarding the conscription itself he wrote:

Let the actual prosecution of the draft, I will not say be suspended, but baffled about at headquarters for fifteen or twenty days. One day yes, another day no, a third day not quite decided, until the people of this city, so numerous and so liable to excitement, shall have had time to reflect. I should be glad, and I am not even without hope, that its rigid execution may not be necessary for the preservation of the union. . . . Let the draft not be given up, but let it be baffled for a couple of weeks, and I have no apprehensions as to the result.[22]

Practical advice such as the above was not unusual with the archbishop, and in many of his letters to Seward he made suggestions for military procedure. The figure of Hughes grows in stature when it is viewed against the New York background. Horatio Seymour, the governor of the state, had been very friendly to the Catholic church when her friends were few. He had been elected on the democratic ticket during the war and he remained hostile to the republican administration. Moreover, prominent citizens had played along with Vallandingham, the peace advocate, while the two Catholic editors, McMaster of the *Freeman's Journal* and Mullaly of the *Metropolitan Record,* had openly espoused Vallandingham whose anti-war followers had come to the conclusion that the whole war had been produced solely to satisfy the abolitionists.

People of the present who read the life of Archbishop Hughes generally admire his address to the rioters, but at the time it was delivered it elicited comments not of the best. The Philadelphia *Press* grumbled that:

In many of the towns around New York riots are prevented only by the Catholic priests and they deserve credit. But this need of the clergy indicates what manner of men are involved in the riots . . . poor foreigners from Ireland and largely their lot is

[22]*The War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1889), series I, vol. XXVII, pt. II, p. 938.

one of ignorance and degradation. Dazzled by their liberty and franchise they follow the most unscrupulous leaders making the ballot a matter of purchase or prejudice. Their clannishness amounts to a discipline. They have swelled the power of that political party which is against progress and liberty. In New York this class with voice and vote aids the schemes of traitors and takes up arms against the war.[23]

In an editorial entitled "King Mob" the editor of the same paper wrote:

Archbishop Hughes, we suspect, is the only person who doubts the character of those awful scenes and of the base participators in them. When he told the "men, *not* gentlemen" (as if gentle conduct were a fault) that they "were *called* rioters" his delicate diction might have been taken to imply a doubt whether they were justly so designated. They were more than rioters — they were also assassins, thieves, and traitors, and miserable dupes and tools to boot.[24]

News of the riot in New York spread rapidly, and other cities took precautions to prevent similar disturbances. Moved by the New York outrages, Bishop Timon of Buffalo addressed a letter to his people saying that:

In New York many misguided men, yet very few, we believe, practical Catholics, have shed blood in the late riot. . . . Dearly beloved, listen to the advice of a father who dearly loves you; submit to law and God will protect you. Should there be a draft, fewer would be drafted than would, probably, be killed in an unholy struggle against law. And, if any of you be drafted, we will try to protect and aid; God will protect, aid and bless, in more ways than we know or dare name. . . . We exhort you to trust in God, and not to lend yourselves to any exciter to mob violence, which leads so often to murder.[25]

---

[23]*Press,* July 17, 1863. The Pittsburgh *Catholic,* August 8, 1863, admitted that the draft riots had been participated in largely by Catholics and Irishmen, but it reminded its readers that the Church could not be held responsible for the deeds of her members.

The *Telegraph* as early as August 20, 1862, carried an editorial denouncing those who would resist the draft. Such people were compared to neighbors who would cut the hose while your house was burning.

[24]*Press,* July 20, 1863.

[25]*Historical Records and Studies,* vol. I, pt. II, 189.

Bishop Rappe of Cleveland denounced mob violence and admonished his flock not even to discuss the draft because laws must be obeyed, including the conscription law. "If one is drafted and cannot provide an exemption, he must serve the fatherland as a soldier. If a drafted man is poor and the state or county has not provided for his family, the Church should do so." He further warned against maltreating the Negroes and spoke against demanding exorbitant wages.[26]

In concluding this survey it may be said that the bishops unanimously emphasized the value of prayer. The hierarchy did not act as one political unit; some bishops sympathized with the south but were reticent, others were not much concerned because of their isolated location, and some exerted themselves greatly in favor of the union cause. The bishops of the north exercised a moderating influence upon the thought of the nation at a time when grave issues were being confused, and, when confronted by the draft problem, they espoused the cause of law and order.

THE HIERARCHY DURING THE CIVIL WAR

Province of Baltimore

Baltimore: Most Rev. Francis Kenrick
Most Rev. Martin Spalding
Charleston: Rt. Rev. Patrick Lynch
Erie: Rt. Rev. Josue Young[27]
Philadelphia: Rt. Rev. James Wood
Pittsburgh: Rt. Rev. Michael Domenec
Richmond: Rt. Rev. John McGill
Savannah: Rt. Rev. Augustine Verot
Wheeling: Rt. Rev. Richard Whelan
Vicariate of East-Florida: Rt. Rev. Augustine Verot

---

[26]*Wahrheitsfreund*, July 29, 1863.

[27]The *Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 25, 1863, under the caption "A Patriotic Catholic Bishop" quoted the *Erie Star* to the effect that Young had been one of the most loyal bishops in the country. He was quoted as maintaining that slavery was the cause of the rebellion and that its extirpation was necessary for the restoration of the union.

Province of Cincinnati

Cincinnati: Most Rev. John Purcell
Cleveland: Rt. Rev. Amadeus Rappe
Covington: Rt. Rev. George Carrell
Detroit: Rt. Rev. Peter Lefevre
Fort Wayne: Rt. Rev. John Luers
Louisville: Rt. Rev. Martin Spalding
Sault St. Marie: Rt. Rev. Frederick Baraga
Vincennes: Rt. Rev. Maurice de St. Palais

Province of New Orleans

New Orleans: Most Rev. John Odin
Galveston: Rt. Rev. Claude Dubuis
Little Rock: Rt. Rev. Andrew Byrne
Mobile: Rt. Rev. John Quinlan
Natchez: Rt. Rev. William Elder
Natchitoches: Rt. Rev. Augustus Martin

Province of New York

New York: Most Rev. John Hughes
Most Rev. John McCloskey
Albany: Rt. Rev. John McCloskey
Boston: Rt. Rev. John Fitzpatrick
Brooklyn: Rt. Rev. John Loughlin
Buffalo: Rt. Rev. John Timon
Burlington: Rt. Rev. Louis de Goesbriand
Hartford: Rt. Rev. Francis McFarland
Newark: Rt. Rev. James Bayley
Portland: Rt. Rev. David Bacon

Province of Oregon

Oregon: Most Rev. Francis Blanchet
Nesqualy: Rt. Rev. Augustine Blanchet
Diocese of Vancouver Island: Rt. Rev. Modest Demers

Province of St. Louis

St. Louis: Most Rev. Peter Kenrick
Alton: Rt. Rev. Henry Juncker
Chicago: Rt. Rev. James Duggan
Dubuque: Rt. Rev. Clement Smyth

Milwaukee: Rt. Rev. John Henni
Nashville: Rt. Rev. James Whelan
Santa Fe: Rt. Rev. John Lamy
St. Paul: Rt. Rev. Thomas Grace
Vicariate of Indian Territory: Rt. Rev. John B. Miege
Vicariate of Nebraska: Rt. Rev. James O'Gorman

Province of San Francisco

San Francisco: Most Rev. Joseph Alemany
Los Angeles and Monterey: Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Amat.
Vicariate of Marysville: Rt. Rev. Eugene O'Connell

IV

THE BISHOPS OF THE SOUTH

The Catholic church is conservative and all its principles revolve and gravitate around the idea of union. What is the principle of secession but the carrying out of the principle of private judgment? So spoke Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati early in 1861.[1] Had some of his brethren in the episcopate been present, his dignity might have suffered, for the hierarchy was not of one mind. Perhaps the archbishop momentarily forgot that environment is a powerful factor in the life of every human being. The southern attitude, to be sure, influenced the prelates of the south, just as the northern sentiment acted upon those in the north.

The eleven confederate states comprised eleven dioceses: the archdiocese of New Orleans with its five suffragan sees; Galveston, Natchitoches (Alexandria), Little Rock, Natchez, Mobile; Nashville, Charleston, Richmond, Savannah, and Wheeling. Not one was ruled by a bishop born on confederate soil. Only three of the bishops were American by birth: Bishops Whelan of Wheeling and Elder of Natchez had been born in Baltimore, and Bishop McGill of Richmond had grown up in Philadelphia. Four came from France: Archbishop Odin of New Orleans, and Bishops Verot, Martin, and Dubuis of Savannah, Natchitoches, and Galveston, respectively. The remaining four, Bishops Whelan, O. P., Byrne, Quinlan, and Lynch of Nashville, Little Rock, Mobile, and Charleston were of Irish birth.

While the southern dioceses were few compared to those in the north, some could claim considerable age. New Orleans had been established in 1793, Charleston and Richmond dated from 1820 and Mobile from 1829. If they enjoyed age, they could not boast of growth because all of them taken together, excluding the area, would not have constituted one large diocese. If the dioceses

[1] *Freeman's Journal*, February 2, 1861.

of the north were large it was due to the fact that the immigrants settled there rather than in the south because there were few jobs to be had in states where slaves did most of the work. At the outbreak of the war, Bishop Whelan of Wheeling had nine priests in his diocese, while the diocese of Little Rock had only eleven churches. Bishop Byrne died in 1862, and when his successor in Little Rock was consecrated five years later, he had only five priests under his jurisdiction. The diocese of Charleston numbered 10,000 Catholics, while Nashville had a Catholic population of 13,000, with fourteen churches, eleven priests, and ten parish schools.[2]

As representatives of God, the southern bishops called upon the people to pray. Exhortations are found in the pastorals, and, when the war continued its course, they designated the period from December 1 to December 20, 1863, as a time of special prayer. In August, 1863, Archbishop Odin of New Orleans issued an eloquent pastoral letter wherein he said:

> War is but one of the scourges of iniquity. God outraged by sin uses men to wreak on men His merited vengeance; He arms them one against the other and punishes them by making them the instruments of His wrath and of His justice, through mutual hostility. . . . The more God blessed and favored us, the more we seemed to forget Him. His benefits seemed but to foster our pride, to unfold in us the germs of sinfulness, to excite a hunger and thirst for sensual pleasures and to create an immoderate attachment to the perishable things of this world.
>
> In a community professing to be Christian, the maxims and the moral of paganism have gradually crept in and penetrated more and more from day to day.
>
> Yes, let us acknowledge that we have belied our title of Christians by our aversion to the cause of Christ, by our preference of sensual ease and enjoyment, by our worship of gold and vice.[3]

One of Odin's advisors, Father Mullon, the pastor of St. Patrick's church, was an ardent confederate who opposed General Butler with great vehemence. War was in Mullon's blood for he

---

[2]Figures from John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* vol. 1843-66 (New York, 1892).

[3]*Freeman's Journal,* September 26, 1863.

had fought as a layman in the war of 1812, and Butler of the northern army said he was the bravest man he ever met. He neither imprisoned him nor did he confiscate the bells of his church for ammunition. Earlier in the war General Beauregard of the confederacy had made an appeal for bells and the Catholic response was generous, but eventually they were confiscated by northern troops and sent to Boston where they were sold.

When the archbishop called for volunteer chaplains every Redemptorist and Jesuit in New Orleans offered his service. It was one of the Jesuits, Father Hubert, who officiated in the capitol at Baton Rouge at the blessing of the flag of the short-lived Republic of Louisiana in 1861, and for a number of months flag blessings were common events in the archdiocese.

Another prominent confederate partisan was the Rev. Francis Mittelbronn, pastor of St. Francis church in Pointe Coupee. For a time he was imprisoned and eventually irate federal soldiers profaned his church. Considering that the archdiocese harbored such sanguine characters and also the offices of *Le Propagateur Catholique,* Odin succeeded quite well in remaining aloof from political intrigues.[4]

To call people of a Christian nation to prayer and penance rarely has serious repercussions, but the question of prayers during the civil war brought discomfort to Bishop Elder of Natchez. As early as December, 1860, he conducted a triduum in his cathedral to implore God for light and protection during the national crisis. His excellency, however, was not slow in manifesting his sympathy for the south. On January 10, 1861, he issued a letter directing changes in the prayer for the civil powers since he had been informed that connections with the federal government had been severed. On February 4, he wrote to Father Perché, a vicar general of the archdiocese of New Orleans and founder of *Le Propagateur Catholique,* that states had the right to secede from the union, and about the same time he wrote to Bishop Duggan of Chicago:

---

[4]Roger Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1939), 412-430.

Our state government and our new confederation are *de facto* our only existing government, and it seems to me that as good citizens we are bound not only to acquiesce in it but to support it, to contribute means and arms, and above all to avoid weakening it by division of counsel without necessity.

On February 25, 1861, Elder wrote to Mrs. Thomas Layton that he rejoiced in the new government and that everything should be done to preserve it. As a southerner he was interested in the efforts of General Beauregard, but as a bishop he emphasized the value of prayer. On April 14 he appealed to his people to pray; in May he preached to the soldiers in camp; he appealed to civilians to provide the army with prayer books and religious articles, he ordered prayers to be recited after the victory at Bull Run, and every Friday he himself offered Holy Mass for the living and dead soldiers. In September, 1862, forty hours' devotion was held for the first time in the diocese, and the city of Natchez, grateful for being only slightly damaged in a recent river bombardment, vowed to keep the feast of Corpus Christi as a holy day of obligation. In February, 1864, while the war was still in progress, the holy see ratified the vow which was kept for almost fifty years until the papacy dispensed the city in 1913.[5]

The most uncomfortable incident in the bishop's life occurred in 1864 when the hopes of the south had begun to wane. One day General Tuttle of the northern forces requested the bishop to recite a prayer for public authorities which was found in some Catholic prayer books. Bishop Elder had at one time used it, but when the confederacy was established, he substituted a prayer for the southern authorities. In November, 1862, before the union troops were in possession of Natchez, this prayer was abandoned in favor of the litany of the saints. The bishop resented the general's demand as an encroachment of the state in religious matters. All arguments miscarried, and the officer bluntly declared that he regarded the bishop as a traitor. The latter reported the proceedings to President Lincoln under date of April 7, 1864.

---

[5]This account is based on a series of articles about Bishop Elder which appeared in *Catholic Action of the South,* in the forepart of 1940.

Tuttle ceased molestations, but, in the absence of a written cancellation of his order, General Brayman, a successor, proceeded against the prelate with a new order. The document charged that by praying for the president of the confederate states the bishop—

publicly renounced the allegiance to the government of the United States, and declared allegiance to a power then in armed resistance against the same, and compassing its overthrow; such act being in violation of his duty as a citizen of the United States, and of evil example to those under his ecclesiastical authority; he well knowing that thereby was instigated and promoted rebellion and armed hostility against the lawful authority of the United States.

The document required that the bishop report at Vidalia, Louisiana, and remain under military guard. The bishop complied, but after arriving there, he wrote to Edwin Stanton, the secretary of war, averring that he taught his flock religion, not politics. Regarding the prayer for the confederacy, he maintained that it was not calculated to promote hostility nor to influence any one's conduct. In brief, he had adapted himself to existing conditions and he did not hesitate to declare:

I simply acquiesced in a state of things agreeable to the ordinance [of secession], whether wisely or unwisely. There seemed to be a universal acceptance of it, even by those who had before opposed it. All the public authorities then in the exercise of their powers, to the best of my knowledge, had either embraced it with zeal, or regarded themselves constrained to yield to it.

The war department almost immediately directed the release of the bishop, and after seventeen days of surveillance, on August 12, the order of release was grudgingly issued by Brigadier General Brayman. The document stated that since appeals to God not proceeding from honest hearts were displeasing to Him, the order in question was suspended "leaving all persons conducting worship at liberty to manifest such measure of hostility as they may feel, against the government and the union of these states, and their sympathy with the rebellion, by omitting such supplications if so minded."[6]

[6]*Character Glimpses of Most Reverend William Henry Elder* (New York, 1911), 43 ff.

Another sidelight on Elder comes from his letters to Archbishop Purcell.[7] The two prelates had been friends since 1831, but the war threatened to destroy their friendship. In September of 1863 Dr. Henry Hewit, a Catholic surgeon in Grant's army, told Elder he would write to Purcell to ask for sisters to care for colored orphans in Mississippi. In approving the request the bishop hastened to point out how badly priests were needed in the vicinity of Vicksburg. That following December Elder tried to impress on his boyhood friend that priests must abstain from urging bloodshed no matter what opinions they held regarding the conflict. In February, 1864, Elder warned Purcell that to advocate abolition in the newspapers means to continue the war until the south is subjugated. In his opinion Purcell had grieved the southerners, and, besides that, Elder admitted having little confidence in human government adding that he would not urge anyone to risk his life for it.

In the above letter Elder mentioned Father Bennett, a young priest whom he feared would be drafted if he came south because confederate law exempted only those clergymen who were licensed to preach in 1862. Purcell apparently inserted some remarks about the case into the *Telegraph* because on April 5, 1864, Elder wrote in a letter that the *Telegraph* had stated a southern bishop warned clergymen not to go south for fear of being drafted. Elder, wondering whether this assertion had the Bennett case as its foundation, hastened to deny the truth of the report. The bishop of Natchez demanded a retraction and asked for three copies of the paper carrying the correction, all the while insisting that the clergy were treated respectfully by the confederacy, and that all were duly exempt from service provided that they were officiating before May, 1862.

Nothing happened so Elder again took up the pen on June 15, 1864, to tell his confrère that it was an obligation of justice to retract his statement because such a report could do a vast amount of damage to the Catholics of the south. Moreover, his remark had never been intended for the public, but, alas, Purcell's zeal

[7]These are preserved in the archives at Notre Dame university.

for the abolition of slavery had gotten control of his judgment and feelings. Elder was not willing to let the matter rest so he sent a correction to the Baltimore *Mirror*. On July 9, 1864, the *Mirror* printed the offending paragraph which had appeared in the *Telegraph* and followed it by a communication, signed "Peace," which disclosed that the original letter was private and addressed to a clergyman and not to the editor of a paper. The Mississippi bishop continued:

As far as I can see, the bishops in the south have abstained from taking any part in fomenting the present deplorable war. And I know the bishop in question and the priests of his diocese have tried to attend to their spiritual functions without using their influence to inflame public prejudice on either side; and they do not wish their names to be used in such connection.

That Purcell had exasperated his friend is beyond all doubt, but time healed the wounds to such an extent that the bishop of Natchez eventually became the coadjutor archbishop of Cincinnati and Purcell's successor.

Bishop Quinlan of Mobile issued a pastoral letter on January 1, 1861, in which he referred to the political situation. He spoke in laudatory terms of the republic as having been founded by skillful men and maintained by heroes. It had been a haven to the oppressed of every land, but, according to him, that wondrous work was in danger "for dire ambition and fanatic zeal [abolitionism] have sapped its strength and compassed its destruction." In the midst of the misery, however, there was consolation for the Catholic because his church had

implanted no hostile conviction, encouraged no adverse feeling; and those whom she has commissioned to teach have never spoken but words of benediction. Indeed, it could not be otherwise. Obedience to the highest recognized authority, and assent, without appeal, to its decisions, is the only plan in which state rights and congressional power can move in harmony together. This is the Catholic principle; it is also the keystone of the federal arch.

The bishop continued by saying that had the voice of the Church been heeded, the country would be without cares and on

the threshold of a glorious future. The next paragraph was far more vigorous and envisioned the birth of a new nation.

But let us not be misunderstood. While regretting the dismemberment of this great republic—and heaven knows we would do all we could legitimately to prevent it—we would not purchase union at the expense of justice. Better that the instrument of confederation should be rent in pieces and scattered to the winds than that it should become a cloak for malice or a bond of iniquity. It is only as a security for just, independent rights—and the noble charter of the constitution is, in letter and spirit, all of this—that we love the union of the states and pray for its continuance. Let us, then, dearly beloved, as long as hope remains, faint not in our efforts for its preservation. . . . If a hidden and adorable Providence in penalty of our sins, should withal refuse its aid, withdraw its hand and let our noble edifice fall to the ground, let us pray God, that out of the scattered materials, His wisdom and power may give form and stability to other works, which may rival, if not in stately grandeur, at least in social weal, security, and peace, the good old one of former days.[8]

A few months later, during the octave of Corpus Christi, the bishop referred to his letter of the first of the year. He maintained that to call the southern confederacy an oligarchy was a grave error. The north could call the rebellion anything, but it ought not to forget that it was popular in character and not an oligarchy. Bishop Quinlan cautioned the nation that if the south were conquered the wounds would bleed for centuries and he expressed the rather belated opinion that an honorable compromise was better than war.

Although these documents indicate clearly the attitude of the bishop, the Rev. Michael Kenny, S. J., who knows the south well,

---

[8]*Freeman's Journal,* March 2, 1861. Without further information it is hard to interpret "confederation" and "independent rights." Had he in mind the equivalent of what *Le Propagateur Catholique* had propounded on January 26, 1861, that each state is sovereign, and upon entering the union sovereignty itself was not relinquished but only some of the rights of sovereignty; each state has a right to secede for suitable motives; sufficient reasons exist now; the duty of the inhabitants of a separated state is to recognize only the sovereignty of their state. See also *Freeman's Journal,* February 9, 1861.

commented that: "Bishop Quinlan's intense confederate sympathies were notorious in Mobile; and I have had many stories about it from our old Jesuit Fathers, and from many confederate soldiers and old residents in Mobile. Several told me that the bishop was confident of southern success even in 1864."

Bishop McGill of Richmond was no less enthusiastic about the southern cause. In addition to furnishing chaplains and detailing nuns as military nurses, he promoted enlistments in the Emmet and Montgomery guards.[9] After the battle of Manassas the confederate congress asked all churches to arrange services of thanksgiving. Accordingly, Bishop McGill had services in his cathedral. He himself preached on Divine Providence, drawing his arguments and illustrations from the events of the battle. The cathedral was crowded, and some three hundred soldiers were present. The bishop spoke of the preparations made for the subjugation of the south as evidenced by the capture of thirty thousand handcuffs, and asked oratorically: "Did not an overruling and a merciful Providence interpose at this momentous and critical juncture, to nerve the arm and fire the hearts of our noble companions?" The *Richmond Dispatch* reported that

> an evident but suppressed sensation was perceptible throughout the crowded cathedral. The soldier's bosom was seen to heave with mingled motions of patriotism and indignation.
>
> The invocation to his congregation to adore and glorify that merciful and benign Providence which has so far crowded our banners with victory, that it may still be our protection and our shield against an unjust, wicked and ruthless invasion, was a beautiful and impressive effort of Christian eloquence, imbued with the holy emotions of a lofty patriotism.[10]

The diocese of Richmond suffered much from the war, and since the bishop could not visit his diocese, he wrote two books: *The True Church Indicated to the Inquirer* (1862), and *Faith, the Victory* (1865). In the latter he deplored the fact that the Christian rulers of this country did not respect the marriage of

[9]In the north, Bishop Duggan of Chicago supported Colonel Mulligan in organizing the Irish Brigade.

[10]*Richmond Dispatch,* July 29, 1861.

slaves and permitted owners to separate husband from wife and children from parents. Mindful of the times he wrote:

> It is not certain that the present dreaded calamities, which afflict the country, are not the scourge of God, chiefly for this sin, among the many that provoke his anger, in our people. . . . It would appear that by the present convulsions, his Providence is preparing for them at least a recognition of those rights as immortal beings, which are required for the observance of the paramount laws of God.[11]

Bishop Verot, the Sulpician bishop of Savannah, was especially disliked as a rebel bishop because of a sermon that he preached on January 4, 1861. The sermon was a calm, learned discussion of slavery. He conceded that from a practical standpoint, slavery did not particularly concern the Catholics because most of the slaves were held in the Protestant sections of the south. Of the four million slaves, only between five to ten per cent of them had Catholic masters, but since slavery was a question of morals it merited attention.

The Book of Proverbs, XIV, 34, furnished the text of the sermon: "Justice exalteth a nation: but sin maketh nations miserable." The bishop proceeded to argue that "a man may sell his labor and work for a day, a week, a month, or a year: why may he not sell it for all his life?" There can be an equal exchange, and the master is by no means always benefited. In fact, some masters were poor with slaves, and became rich by freeing them. That is one reason why slavery died out in Europe.

The bishop then declared that "God in the Old Testament, under the law of nature, and under the law of Moses, not only did not prohibit slavery, but sanctioned it, regulated it, and specified the rights of masters, and the duties of slaves." The case of Abraham was mentioned as an example of how the old law operated, and St. Paul's advice to Onesimus in the New Testament was cited to show that Christ had not abolished slavery. Verot assured his hearers that:

---

[11]The Rt. Rev. John McGill, *Faith, the Victory* (Richmond, 1865), 313-314.

The Church has made no general law against slavery. . . . As for the Protestant clergy, with, of course, honorable exceptions, they have brought about this deplorable state of things, in which the south is arrayed against the north, and in which war, bloodshed, and all the atrocities of civil discord may yet have their sad exhibition.[12]

After condemning the slave trade, that is, kidnapping Negroes in Africa to sell them, the bishop spoke of safeguarding female slaves. He discouraged marriage between blacks and whites, but insisted that slaves had a right to marry and that "the laws of marriage must be observed among them exactly as among the whites." The Negro family may not be separated, and legislation to that effect should be enacted. Carefully avoiding any statement about the depravity of the black race, Verot hazarded the opinion that the Negro was much inclined toward pleasure.

In so far as the treatment of slaves was concerned, Verot made it clear that a master did not have the same rights over a slave that he had over an animal. However, in his opinion many masters were more inclined to be too mild than too severe. Reverting to the Protestant clergy, he declared: "This kind treatment is the necessary effect of religious feeling and practical religion among masters, and hence it ought to be the great study of ministers of religion to spread the spirit of Christianity among the people; it will do incomparably more for the relief and the happiness of the slave than all the fanatical efforts of abolitionists."

Knowing only too well that religion had not flourished among the Negroes, Verot told his audience that masters were obliged by the natural law to instruct their slaves in religion or to procure others to do so because every Negro has a soul to save. Nor was this to be taken lightly. On the contrary, the obligation was the same as that of parents toward their children.

---

[12]Note the similarity to the *Freeman's Journal*, December 8, 1855, "What men — what class — are at the bottom of the Abolition faction? Who, but the Protestant clergymen? . . . Who have irritated and exasperated the north and poured obloquy and misrepresentation on the south? Who have sundered their own church organizations upon a north and south dividing line? . . . They are the true fomenters of the mischiefs which imperil this union."

In the conclusion to his famous sermon, which was printed in pamphlet form, the bishop expressed satisfaction with the birth of the confederacy. He declared that the dismemberment of the union was already accomplished, and that the new flag of the confederacy was waving under his eyes. Having repeated his text, he recommended "as the means of setting the new confederacy upon a solid basis, that a servile code be drawn up and adopted by the confederacy defining clearly the rights and duties of masters, and the rights and duties of slaves."[13]

Bishop Verot did not eulogize slavery, but he maintained that it was compatible with Christianity. In a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, whose headquarters were in France, he pointed out that the condition of the slaves was much better in the Catholic regions of the southwest than it was in the Protestant parts of the east. He also anticipated good results from the abolition of slavery. The symbolism and pomp of the Church would attract the Negroes, but there was a shortage of priests and schools. In the same letter he spoke of the ruthlessness of the draft whereby all whites from eighteen to forty-five had to bear arms. There were neither exemptions nor substitutes and often he saw a man forced to leave his wife and children unable to procure the bare necessities of life.[14]

Florida and Georgia not only suffered from poverty but also from military devastation. In Jacksonville the New England troops pillaged and set fire to the Catholic church. Similar scenes occurred in St. John's Bar, Florida, in Camden county, Georgia, and at Dalton. In Savannah, in spite of the bishop's protest, a general occupied a cemetery and did considerable damage when he converted it into a fortification.[15]

---

[13]The Rt. Rev. A. Verot, *A Tract for the Times, Slavery and Abolitionism.* Being the substance of a sermon, preached in the church of St. Augustine, Florida, on the fourth day of January, 1861, day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer. The *Freeman's Journal* commented that Verot was a soundly instructed theologian following the saints and doctors of the church who looked upon slavery as a human arrangement for the common good.

[14]*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi,* XXXVII (Lyon, 1865), 395 ff.

[15]John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United*

That Verot's mental outlook was deeply affected by the problems that were related to the war is seen from his comments at the Vatican council in 1870. In his opinion it would have been more profitable to condemn false theories concerning the unity of the human race than those of German philosophers. He had in mind especially these: that the black and white races did not have a common origin, that Negroes did not have souls like the whites, and that the present human race is the final product of a process of evolution from the ape.[16]

Bishop Martin of Natchitoches (Alexandria) on August 21, 1861, issued a long letter in French in which he not only belittled the horrors of slavery but exulted over the confederate victories and gave his opinion of the morality of the war. Like his fellow southerners he found nothing to admire in the government of the north and feared that tyranny and oppression lay ahead. Starting with that premise he argued that since the south had opposed right to iniquity, it now was time to oppose force with force, and legions with legions. Christians were called upon to take up arms in answer to the appeal of their fatherland and he promised them that the strength that flows from a good conscience would be added to that of their weapons. Justice and truth, said he, are invincible. The army may be decimated, but it cannot be vanquished. The northern reverses at Manassas were due to the fact that the doubtful justice of the northern cause struck terror into the men when they came face to face with death. Mental anguish caused them to retreat in disorder.[17]

The attitude of Bishop James Whelan, O. P., of Nashville, constitutes an enigma. Father O'Daniel says: "Federal sympathies filled his breast, for he was strongly opposed to a dismemberment of the union, and in his honesty he made no effort to conceal his convictions. Naturally, this at once alienated from him the affec-

---

States, vol. 1843-1866 (New York, 1892), 459-461.

[16]Raymond Clancy, "American Prelates in the Vatican Council," *Historical Records and Studies,* XXVIII, 22.

[17]*Le Propagateur Catholique,* September 7, 14, 1861.

tions of by far the greater part of his flock."[18] Richard Clarke writes that the bishop was "frankly, openly, and conscientiously" sympathetic with the southern cause. A rumor spread that a remark of his had influenced the movements of the northern army, and in that way, he is alleged to have lost the friendship of his people.[19] At Chattanooga, St. Peter and St. Paul church was under construction, and in 1863 the army used the stone for military purposes. Father Brown, the pastor, petitioned congress for $27,783 indemnity and received $18,729. In the report of the committee on claims, Bishop Whelan is mentioned as "conspicuously a loyal man," but that casual remark is of little weight. Moreover, the document is dated eleven years after the end of the war.[20] The Rev. Adrian English, O. P., made a study of Bishop Whelan, and in answer to an inquiry wrote: "I can find no direct evidence as to where Bishop Whelan's sympathies lay in the civil war." The Rev. George Flanigen, editor of the Tennessee *Register,* gave this opinion:

Bishop Whelan's administration here was unsuccessful because of his union sympathies. He was a victim of circumstance. A scholarly man, the trying times in which he found himself completely broke his spirit and he resigned. He was opposed to breaking up the union, was in sympathy with the federals, and made no effort to conceal his honest convictions. This alienated

---

[18]V. F. O'Daniel, *The Father of the Church in Tennessee* (New York, 1926), 573.

[19]Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 292.

[20]*Report of the Committees of the Senate of the United States for the First Session of the 44th Congress,* 1875-6, II, No. 497.

As to the question of loyalty: "The congregation by whose contributions the church was erected, or being erected, was mainly composed of laboring-men, many of them employed by the railroad companies, and though some of them, on the breaking out of the war, sided with the rebellion and went into the confederate army, the larger portion of them remained true to the union, and many of them served in the union army.

"The Rev. J. T. Nealis was pastor of said church at the commencement of the war, and for some time after, and was so enthusiastically and outspokenly loyal that he was shot through the body by a rebel bushwhacker, from which he never recovered, but died in the beginning of the year 1865, from the effects of the wound. Rev. H. V. Brown, who succeeded him as pastor, we are satisfied from the evidence, was also loyal."

the majority of his flock. He was a personal friend of General Rosecrans and other federal officers and openly fraternized with them. In a sermon at the cathedral just before the fall of Nashville he told the people that should the worse come they should not forget their religion. This was construed as an act friendly to the enemy and the people were very angry. Under the open hostility of the people his nerves became shattered and he resigned.

Information about his namesake, Bishop Richard Whelan of Wheeling is negligible. In April, 1861, he wrote to Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore complaining of some northern prelates displaying flags in church and allowing partisan sermons. Later the archbishop warned Bishop Whelan of a rumor to arrest him and advised that he be temperate in expressing his views. The latter, who had long ago advocated strict neutrality, answered that he had been cautious and had never recommended resistance to the government.[21]

In the north the archbishop of New York was the ecclesiastical spokesman of union enthusiasts. His counterpart in the confederacy was the bishop of Charleston, Patrick N. Lynch. He was a man well acquainted with hardships, for in addition to having his cathedral, residence, and the diocesan library destroyed by an accidental fire, General Sherman went through his diocese to complete its devastation. The bishop, however, was not only a sufferer; he took an active part in the war. On August 4, 1861, he presented his political views in a letter to Archbishop Hughes of New York, and soon the entire nation knew the divergence of opinion that existed between the two prelates. Recalling that the south had foretold that the triumph of abolitionism would disrupt the union, he continued saying that the Yankees

> have originated, fostered, and propagated a fanatical party spirit which has brought about a result foretold from the beginning. . . . Taking up antislavery, making it a religious dogma, and carrying it into politics, they have broken up the union. While it was a mere intellectual opinion they might discuss it as they pleased; they might embrace it as they did any other "ism." Even their

[21]John J. O'Shea, *The Two Kenricks* (Philadelphia, 1904), 200; *Wahrheitsfreund*, September 21, 1864, mentions the threat of arrest.

virulent abuse and misrepresentation we scarcely heeded, provided they did not obtrude them upon us at home. They might even carry it into religion, and split their associations and churches on it. We, as Catholics, might everywhere smile at this additional attempt to "reform" the teachings of our Savior. And the Protestants, south, could have churches and associations of their own. But when they carried it into politics, gaining one state government after another, and defining their especial policy by unconstitutional laws and every mode of annoying and hostile action, and finally, with increased enthusiasm and increased bitterness, carrying the presidential election in triumph, and grasping the power of the federal government, what could the south do but consult its own safety by withdrawing from the union?[22]

Economically, he emphasized that the south had been a good customer of the north, purchasing $120,000,000 worth of manufactured goods a year. In the south, agriculture had recently been intensified to meet the needs of the people, and manufacturing had also been increased. Conceding that the securing of money was a problem, he argued that cotton could be used instead of gold, and, as for secession, that was an unalterable fact.

In the spring of 1864, the confederacy asked Bishop Lynch to go to Europe to foster good will at the various capitals and at the Vatican.[23] In Rome he had audiences with the Holy Father and Cardinal Antonelli, but he was looked upon only as a bishop, never as an official delegate of the confederacy. More disconcerting was the fact that Cardinal Antonelli had studied the American constitution and concluded that the confederate states had used an unconstitutional method to remedy their grievances. The question of slavery was not overlooked in Rome. Pope Pius IX told Rufus King, the United States minister to the papal state, that he could not "as a Christian and the head of the Catholic church lend any sanction or countenance to the system of African slavery." Cardinal Antonelli said that the Roman court and the Catholic church had always been opposed to slavery, but he admitted that

[22]*New York Daily Tribune*, September 5, 1861.

[23]*Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, ed. by James Richardson (Nashville, 1906), II, 470.

there was danger and difficulty involved in the immediate emancipation of four million slaves.[24]

In 1865 Bishop Lynch, still in Rome, started to plan his return to America. The American minister suspected the funds had given out because the bishop, who had entertained much the preceding year, was then a "guest" at the Propaganda. Antonelli informed the United States minister that it would be the bishop's duty to honor, respect, and obey the government's authority. He was allowed to return on condition that he take an oath of allegiance, but the bishop was apprehensive lest he be proceeded against criminally. After he had returned, Bishop Lynch set about reconstructing his diocese. With the beggar's staff in hand, he traversed the country seeking funds, and thereby he, who was once a partisan, became an ambassador of good will.

It is clear, then, that the bishops of the south were not unionists, but defenders of the rights of states and abettors of the confederacy. At least, they accepted it as a fact. Slavery was regarded as compatible with Christianity, and not devoid of advantages for the slaves. The elimination of abuses was recommended. The Catholic attitude toward abolitionism had ingratiated the Church to an extent with the southerners and made it possible to ascribe a goodly share of the war guilt to the Protestant clergy in states that were overwhelmingly Protestant. Although the bishops of the south differed from those of the north, their devotion to the Church did not suffer. While Protestant sects were being torn apart, the Catholic church was spared because in her eyes the problems of the day were insignificant compared to the eternal values.

---

[24]*United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches,* ed. by Leo Stock (Washington, 1933), 316, 321 and *passim.*

V

THE CATHOLIC PRESS

The American Catholic press was born in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Its period of adolescence covered the next twenty-five years, and in 1861 it was well able to tackle the problems of the day. Several papers had considerable history behind them: *The United States Catholic Miscellany* had begun publication in 1822, the Cincinnati *Telegraph* dated from 1831, and even the tempestuous *Freeman's Journal* dated back to 1840. Of course, the influence of Catholic papers, as today, was limited to Catholic circles. Naturally the papers differed greatly from those of the present. Spectacular headlines and photographs were absent, many lengthy pastoral letters were reproduced, and articles were often copied from other papers, but this dullness was spicily offset by the vehement editorial warfare of men like McMaster of New York, Perché of New Orleans, and Deuster of Milwaukee.

Although the north was the stronghold of Catholicity, and therefore had the stronger Catholic press, the south possessed fearless anti-federal journals such as *Le Propagateur Catholique,* the New Orleans *Standard,* and the *United States Catholic Miscellany,* while publications of the border area such as the Baltimore *Mirror* and the Louisville *Guardian* were careful not to offend their southern clientele. The war dealt harshly with many. The *Miscellany* was so meticulously logical that it dropped the first part of its title because the words "United States" were henceforth "without truth or meaning." Though the first year of the war marked the death of that sturdy Catholic pioneer, it would be a mistake to ascribe that to the war because the *Miscellany* had long been in financial difficulty.

Le Propagateur Catholique had been founded in 1842 by Father Perché to combat Voltarianism, and, while it correctly related the abolition crusade to the naturalistic humanitarianism of the French revolution, the general tone of the paper was

unduly violent. It branded the first inaugural speech of Lincoln as a "masterpiece of astuteness and hypocrisy filled with contradictions, threats, and promises," and it thundered that the south opposed Lincoln because he was chosen to destroy its institutions and to reverse the constitution. The editor was equally blunt in castigating the Protestants as the party responsible for the civil war and for many other revolutions, because they had rejected the principle of authority.[1] When the confederacy began to collapse, Perché was arrested, and his paper was suspended, but the founder of that sheet was not doomed to oblivion for in 1870 he became archbishop of New Orleans. Despite the pugnacious phraseology of the paper which involved it in many controversies, the paper carried profound analyses of the problems of the day. Being published by Frenchmen for French-speaking Americans it related American humanitarianism to the French encyclopedists who had caused the bloody French revolution whose sad memory was still alive in devout Catholics who had lost friends and relatives in the "purges." The paper doubtless was much influenced by the authors of the restoration, such as Chateaubriand, Bonald, and Maistre, and it may also have been influenced by such German authoritarian authors as Friedrich Schlegel and Adam Mueller who realized the folly of rationalism and the absurdity of liberalism.

While Perché's scanty sheet was limited in circulation owing to its foreign language and rather high price of $4.50 per year, the Baltimore *Mirror,* which was of usual size and cost only half as much, had a wide circulation. Although it was printed in Baltimore it was not only the official organ for that archdiocese but also for the dioceses of Richmond and Wheeling, where—not counting the French element along the Mississippi river—most of the southern Catholics lived. The paper enjoyed great

[1]*Le Propagateur Catholique,* March 6, 1861, June 15, 1861, January *passim,* 1862. Almost every issue breathes enthusiasm for the south.

Perché was born in Angers, France, in 1805. At thirteen he began to study philosophy and at eighteen he was teaching it. He came to Kentucky in 1837. As a result of some misunderstanding between him and Bishop Chabrat he left for New Orleans where he became famous as a preacher.

prestige and reflected the ability of its editor, Father White, who had published a number of books on historical subjects. On December 10, 1859, the *Mirror* gave its viewpoint in the following vein:

> The discussion of slavery, antislavery, abolition, free soilism or Brownism, does not come within the scope of the Catholic press. Upon these questions there is by no means unanimity of sentiment among Catholics, and as in the abstract, there is no question of faith or morals involved, we feel no duty compelling us to enter on one side or the other, still less to stand on both sides.

A year later it repeated itself by saying that: "It is the plain duty of the Catholic press not only to abstain from adding new causes of irritation to the passions which are surging around us, but to soothe them into docility." In line with this the *Mirror* side-stepped most of the slavery controversy until 1859, but from that year to the end of the war it carried numerous editorials which were inspired by the needs of the time. The *Mirror* severely condemned the Protestant clergy for creating the abolitionist whirlwind and in this it agreed perfectly with northern journals such as the *Freeman's Journal*. Of course, when it came to speaking of the Negroes the *Mirror* took the southern and more realistic viewpoint, whereas most northern papers took an academic or legal approach to the Negro question. Both the *Mirror* and the *Freeman's Journal* disliked slavery but they thought it could be tolerated. This was no mere front concealing vile motives because when some Protestants eulogized slavery as an ordinance of God the Baltimore sheet retorted that "such a religion must stink in the nostrils of candid and right-minded men." In so far as the economic side of slavery was concerned, the *Mirror* reminded its readers that the slave children were better off than the poor children of England's factories, yet it was England that had done so much to promote the abolition of slavery in New England. As for adults, over a long period of time their remuneration exceeds that of free white people. With no little bitterness it said: "The Yankees found out this fact long ago; and with their

usual philanthropy (which has some method in it) they got rid of slaves and slavery."

In New York James McMaster edited the *Freeman's Journal.* The editor was a convert, an ardent democrat, and a brilliant writer, so it is no surprise that his paper was influential in the north and not without readers in the south. As a result of his attacks on the administration he was jailed for a year in Fort La Fayette and his paper was suppressed from August 24, 1861, to April 19, 1862. Suffice it to say that the viewpoint of the *Freeman's Journal* was similar to that of the *Mirror* even though the former was more dynamic.[2]

While these two papers had been creating public opinion in their respective localities, down in Louisville a Catholic paper, the *Guardian,* was making a doughty struggle for existence and for a hearing. However, it perished in 1861 after an existence of three years. Since it was published near the scene of conflict, the disruption of postal service made its continuance impossible. Moreover, with Cincinnati close by, the prospects of rivalling the two older papers of that city, the *Telegraph* and the *Wahrheitsfreund,* could never have been bright.

During the six months prior to the outbreak of the war the *Guardian* blamed the Protestant clergy for the sorry state of the nation. An editorial of November 24, 1860, stated in part:

> There is no doubt that the Protestant sects have had at least as much to do with the present unfortunate state of things as the excited sectional politicians. . . . In the north, the Protestant preachers have been long in the habit of bitterly inveighing, Sunday after Sunday, against the evil and the *sin* of slavery; this has, in fact, formed the chief burden of their discourses from the pulpit. . . . The religious fanaticism has evidently led the way to that political excitement which now threatens to sever our glorious union, and to leave it a mass of ruins. Take away the Protestant element from the discussion, and little would remain.

The next issue of the paper observed that too many people

[2]Cuthbert Allen, "The Slavery Question in Catholic Newspapers 1850-1865," in United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies,* vol. XXVI.

in the north erroneously believed the south was only talking about secession in order to frighten the northerners into complying with southern demands. Catholics, being found on both sides, should counteract abolitionist fanaticism, and in the south they should strive to prevent secession until all means of justice prove ineffectual. The *Guardian* repeated this exhortation to moderation, but all the more pointedly did it indite the ministers of the United States who, using one and the same Bible, denounced slavery in the north and eulogized it in the south.[3]

The *Telegraph,* which appeared in Cincinnati, had a wide circulation, and it echoed the sentiments of the head of the archdiocese for it was edited by Father Edward Purcell, a brother of the archbishop. The paper also had connections with military officials since one of the editors was Father Sylvester Rosecrans, later bishop of Columbus and a brother of General William S. Rosecrans.

Much like the other papers the *Telegraph* carried an editorial in December, 1860, entitled, "The Union and Catholicity," in which the editor censured the sects, with the possible exception of the Episcopalians, for having promoted discord. "Religious fanaticism was dragged in to give darker meaning to a difference of social polity and local interests." The Catholic church, on the other hand, had exhorted both the north and south to be just, moderate, patient, and charitable, so if the union is dissolved, no guilt will attach to her. The northern Puritans could not exist without persecuting someone, so they tormented the south until it could endure it no longer. Such was the lot of the south, despite the fact that it never received a just share of the profits which were produced by the partnership of north and south.[4]

The *Telegraph* at times cited the *Propagateur* and the *Miscellany* but early in 1861 the editor made it clear that his paper was not promoting disloyalty. In an editorial, "The Union," Catholics were admonished of their duty to adhere to the union.[5]

---

[3]*Guardian,* January 5, 1861; February 23, 1861.
[4]*Telegraph,* December 1, 1860.
[5]*Ibid.,* January 26, 1861.

A controversial article of March 16, 1861, called attention to the fact that the *Telegraph* had not advocated disunion, but it merely had averred that the south had reasons to complain and a right to be respected. Immediately after the war broke out the editor wrote that the president of the United States had spoken and that although he himself believed that the south had been imposed upon, it was thenceforward necessary to put aside individual opinions.[6] Nevertheless, southern views still found space in the journal's columns, as is indicated by the presence of the letter of Bishop Quinlan, wherein he amplified his vigorous pro-south letter of January 1, 1861, and explained that to label the southern confederacy an oligarchy was a grave error because in reality it was a popular movement.[7]

In 1862 the paper denounced those who would resist a draft,[8] and the following year, when the draft riots of New York occurred, the readers were encouraged to uphold law and order.[9] Inflammatory as the question of conscription was, the issue that brought the *Telegraph* simultaneously lavish praise and blame was slavery. Most of the praise came from non-Catholic sources. The paper was never an abolitionist sheet, but it did subscribe to Lincoln's argumentation. After his emancipation proclamation, the *Telegraph* commented that few would contest the right of the government to confiscate property as a means of winning the war. Slaves were classified as property, Ergo.[10] When the editor decided on his policy of rejoicing over the death of slavery, he feared financial difficulty, but that fear proved unfounded.[11] He did, however, frequently receive the epithet "abolitionist," and, not feeling flattered, he explained that he had been devoted to the cause of order, and therefore he could not assail what was pro-

---

[6]*Ibid.*, April 20, 1861.

[7]*Ibid.*, July 13, 1861. For the New Year's letter, see *Freeman's Journal*, March 2, 1861, also *Wahrheitsfreund*, June 11, 1862.

[8]*Telegraph*, August 20, 1862.

[9]*Ibid.*, July 22, 1863.

[10]*Telegraph*, October 1, 1862.

[11]*Ibid.*, May 6, 1863.

tected by law, but once the great evil had received its lethal blow, he took the stand that he wanted to see no revival of it.

The *Telegraph,* in its issue of July 29, 1863, quoted the *Central Illinoian* to the effect that the Catholic church had a strong antislavery record even though American Catholics had largely voted democratic. Its priests had encouraged obedience to the government more than the Protestant ministers had done, and the clergy's dislike of slavery would do much to ingratiate the church in America. If such notices won editorial approval, the Boston *Pilot,* with its proslavery attitude, was assailed with many jibes.[12] The *Telegraph,* however, went spectacularly far in asserting that: "If the question of American slavery were to be submitted tomorrow to a general council of the church, the institution would perish—sunken deeper than ever plummet sounded."[13] Lastly, the editor observed that as long as the south maintains slavery, manual labor will be scorned, white laborers will not settle there because they cannot find employment, and consequently the Church will not prosper.

The issue of April 8, 1863, carried an article to the effect that the Church and slavery never agreed well, but that the Church does not use revolutionary means to correct evils; she prefers to be patient, tolerating what she is unable to suppress. This was substantially the stand of the other Catholic paper of Cincinnati, the *Wahrheitsfreund,* which had little to say about slavery although it carefully covered civil war news.[14]

The Boston *Pilot* was so strongly devoted to the Irish, that it criticized Lincoln for being ungrateful to them.[15] Their fighting had been splendid, yet it yielded them no prominent appointments. In answer to criticism in the New York *Tablet* the *Pilot* made it

---

[12]E. g., September 9, 1863. The *Pilot* also made attacks on the *Telegraph,* e. g., July 25, 1863, August 1, 1863.

[13]*Telegraph,* August 26, 1863.

[14]*Wahrheitsfreund,* August 17, 1837, April 20, 1854.

[15]*Pilot,* August 24, 1861. An excellent summary of the *Pilot's* stand is given in Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, Edward T. Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944), II, 704-708.

Archbishop Hughes touched on this attitude in a letter to Seward, August 13, 1861. "With regard to Colonel Corcoran, I would advise his

clear that for years it had wanted the constitution amended to carry out the original intent of that document and thus to protect the rights of the south. Previously, the *Pilot* had advised: "Hands off the south;" now it said: "Stand by the Stars and Stripes."[16] The height of bitterness was reached when the *Charleston Daily Courier* accused the *Pilot* of having warred on southern institutions, but the *Pilot* was not slow to point to its ten-year record of emphatically discouraging abolitionism in its very stronghold, and it also observed that the south had many friends among the Irish.[17] The *Pilot* was loyal to the union, and it insisted on respecting southern rights, even though it could not approve all southern actions.

The Pittsburgh *Catholic,* which dated from 1844, was outstandingly loyal, and for that it was at times branded "a black republican sheet." Immediately after the election campaign of 1860, the editor tried to allay fears by putting forth the opinion that many who voted for Lincoln were not abolitionists and that the president would act fairly toward the south. In his estimation, many republicans were willing to leave slavery in the south alone, even though the party opposed its extension to the territories.[18] The issue of December 29, 1860, insisted that it was a duty to uphold the union, and that South Carolina was not justified in seceding because revolutionary action is lawful only when all legal means of redress have failed. Since the editor hoped to see every Catholic defending the union, his interpretation of the constitution was simple and direct. "To say that a state can secede at pleasure," in his opinion, "was to insult the memory of the framers of the constitution, who were not such sorry bunglers

---

appointment as brigadier-general even if he should never return from his honorable captivity. I have discovered symptoms of wounded feelings among his countrymen, arising from the fact that in the different reports, the Sixty-Ninth has scarcely been alluded to. A slight is for them worse than a blow. Corcoran's appointment as brigadier-general, even though a prisoner, would heal the wounds of their *amour propre.*" Hassard, *op. cit.,* 443.

[16]*Pilot,* May 18, 1861.

[17]*Ibid.,* May 25, 1861.

[18]*Catholic,* November 24, 1860.

as to construct a government that could be dissolved by any malcontent member."

The issue of March 2, 1861, carried an editorial to the effect that the Church does not interfere in social and political matters except when morality is involved. Although the slave trade has been condemned, slavery has been spared. The editor disliked slavery, but thought it could not be suddenly sloughed off. As for Protestantism, the *Catholic* gave it generous credit for contributing to the national calamity.[19] Catholics were exhorted to back the president in whatever means he would choose in this emergency, and the *Propagateur* was taken to task for its assertions. The north did not want to subjugate the south, but only to live peacefully under the constitution.[20] By secession the south wronged the north, and that could not be glossed over. At the time many expected a "no popery" crusade to follow the war as a sequel to know-nothingism. If some Catholics became apathetic to the national crisis as a result of that rumor, they were reminded that Catholics support authority not out of expediency but out of duty.[21]

The New York *Tablet* was pro-union, and immediately after Lincoln's election it reminded its readers that every good citizen must submit to the will of the majority. Moreover, Lincoln, who had lived in the south, would not violate the constitution nor infringe on southern rights.[22] When the lapse of time brought new developments the paper explained that loyal Americans were irate because the flag had been fired on, and, when the south seized federal forts, revenge had to be expected.[23] When war was declared, the paper's comment was: "The United States government must put forth all its energy to put down the rebellion, and every true man must stand up for the stars and stripes." Two weeks later an editorial gave this epitome:

---

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1861.

[21] *Ibid.*, August 10, 1861.

[22] *Tablet*, November 17, 1860.

[23] *Ibid.*, January 19, 1861.

We shall also, with God's help, come out of the fiery ordeal, a nation. The pestilent heresy of state supremacy over the general law, of the nonexistence of any obligation on the part of one state toward another or towards all the others, shall perish in the flames. Liberty will thenceforth be the rule, slavery the exception. The interests of millions of free white laborers will be recognized at last and no longer sacrificed to those of 350,000 slaveholders. The public lands will no longer be refused to the free immigrant because slavery wants them kept in large tracts and not divided up into small farms to be worked by the free arms of an intelligent yeomanry. In short, the great republican principle, that the majority shall rule and the minority submit, will be thoroughly and firmly established as the keystone of our republican arch.[24]

The *Herald and Visitor* of Philadelphia believed in state rights and espoused them during the Lincoln campaign. "Among the rights and powers retained by the states are those of either establishing or abolishing, within their own borders, the institution of African slavery."[25] Shortly after the election the paper reiterated its stand as also its love of peace.

We preferred to give our voice, and still do give our voice, if the union must be dissolved, for the alternative of peaceable dissolution, or secession, on the part of such states as are tired of the copartnership, confederation, federal compact, constitutional union, or by whatever other name our political existence may be called.[26]

A week later it observed that the federal government was only an agency vested with power to do certain things, and that it had no right to force a state to enter, remain in, or leave the union. The editor argued:

Peaceable secession, not armed revolution, is the course the south should pursue, if her now undoubtedly violated rights should not be restored to their original integrity by those northern states who have nullified and treated with more than contempt the constitutional laws enacted by congress for the preservation of southern property. And while we contend for the peaceable secession from the union on the one side, we at the same time

[24]*Ibid.*, May 4, 1861.
[25]*Herald and Visitor*, October 20, 1860.
[26]*Ibid.*, November 24, 1860.

most earnestly deprecate the resort to forcible detention in the union on the other.

It seems that the *Herald* agreed with the *Miscellany,* which maintained that states enter partnerships like individuals for mutual benefits. If one is always the loser and insulted besides, the maxim *Frangenti fidem fides frangatur eidem* applies.[27]

Though the London *Universe* was a British paper without influence in the states, a series of squibs signed "Shamrock" is noteworthy. The federals were said to love the blacks so much that they did not even ride in the same car with them. Again, the Irish never have been sufficiently appreciated by the north, hence they are foolish for fighting its battles. They presume Lincoln will free Ireland in gratitude, but this is impossible because Napoleon is an ally of England. Moreover, why should the Irish fight the southerners who never injured them? True, slavery is to be disapproved, but the sufferings of slaves have been exaggerated and the real motive of the northern attack is to avenge Sumter with the slavery issue as a pretext. Although "Shamrock" wrote in that vein early in 1862, an editorial of October 11, the same year, did not align itself with his views. "It appears that the slave will be freed. The slaughter of the past eighteen months will not have been in vain. All lovers of freedom will be happy to see the Negro free on the first of January."

In a class by itself was the *Review* of Orestes A. Brownson. Right in the beginning of the war, in October, 1861, this convert of New England origin, gave his opinion of the Catholic press. His language was not ambiguous.

> Of the twelve journals in the English language, published in this country, and professedly devoted to Catholic interests, we can name only the *Catholic,* published at Pittsburgh, and the *Tablet,* in this city, as decidedly loyal. The *Telegraph and Advocate,* published at Cincinnati, is occasionally loyal, and so also, perhaps, is the *Buffalo Sentinel.* The *Metropolitan Record* was, when last we read it, striving hard to be on both sides. All the rest are really secession sheets, and exert, whether avowedly or not, all their influence against the federal government, and in

[27] *Ibid.,* December 22, 1860.

favor of that of the southern confederacy; for we count every journal favorable to the secessionist, that opposes the war, and clamors for peace.[28]

Brownson for years had been critical of the abolitionists and only mildly hostile toward slavery, but he was always a defender of the union. Because the abolitionists had slight respect for the union and less for the constitution he despised them, and, as soon as the country was plunged into war, he advocated crushing the rebellion quickly and thoroughly, not so much to free the blacks as to preserve liberty for the whites. He advocated freeing the slaves as a war measure, and in order to promote that trend of thought he made several trips to Washington, but he met with little encouragement in official circles. His new attitude toward the slave question reintroduced Brownson into the friendship of some savants who had become unfriendly to him after he had joined the Catholic church, but, on the other hand, he lost the support of the Catholic hierarchy and the Catholic papers. For example, the Baltimore *Mirror* wrote:

> Brownson appears to us to be in a position of a philosophic and theological *suspect*. No one knows how far he may be trusted, and consequently none now freely or fully trusts him. He is no longer a champion, no longer an authority, for anything beyond his own individual opinions.
>
> These may pass for what they are worth. He comes out as an ultra-abolitionist, although in times past, he was utterly opposed to that school . . . there is the perpetual expression of northern sentiment: irrepressible conflict; impossible coexistence of the two forms of labor under the common government.[29]

It was a pleasure for Catholic writers to denounce Brownson because the latter saw much to criticize in the immigrants. While some saw the immigrants only as Catholics, the scholarly Brownson saw them as voters, as citizens, and as carriers of culture. Since his shafts had often been directed at Irish immigrants, editors of that race assailed him promptly when an opportunity presented itself. Besides this Brownson's views on current theology had

---

[28]Brownson, *Works*, XVII, 156-157.
[29]*Mirror*, October 5, 1861.

elicited a measure of contempt from people who were not specially interested in his political opinions. By the time his *American Republic* appeared few were interested enough in Brownson to study it carefully, and the *Review* itself was facing its doom.

In conclusion, it appears that most Catholic newspapers took up the war question with vigor and with independent views. As a result, several of them were suspended by governmental authority. Generally speaking, the democratic attitude toward state rights met with favor, the fanaticism of the abolitionists was universally disapproved, slavery was considered undesirable but incapable of sudden extirpation, and a large measure of war guilt was ascribed to the Protestant preachers who had ranted about the horrors of slavery. Secular journals and statesmen took little heed of the Catholic press, but the history of the civil war is incomplete without its comments.

VI

INFLUENCING EUROPE

Wars are by nature international. Even civil wars, despite their domestic character, are of international importance because of the implications of foreign trade, recruiting abroad, and diplomatic representation. The recent Spanish civil war has illustrated this anew, and the American revolution of long ago would have run a different course had it not been for the aid of France and Spain. The American civil war occurred in an epoch when Europe was undergoing great changes. France had just expanded its possessions along the Riviera, Spain had tried to recover Santo Domingo in 1861, Italy was gradually succeeding in her program of unification, the Poles staged a revolution in 1863, Denmark was overcome by Germany in 1864, Maximilian of Austria came to Mexico in the interests of France, and almost immediately after the civil war had ended, Prussia conquered Austria in 1866, while in 1870 Garibaldi seized Rome, and Germany defeated France.

With Europe in such a military mood it was natural for both the north and the south to seek alliances or at least signs of good will. Since the south was endeavoring to change her status, it devolved upon her statesmen to justify her course of action and convince foreign powers that they could benefit by recognizing the upstart nation on the Gulf of Mexico.

The hopes of the confederacy from its inception rested upon foreign recognition. The south exported cotton to Europe, and the confederacy regarded that as an indispensable staple. Consequently, European nations would have to recognize the south, and the payment for cotton would help finance the war. Foreign textile workers would be thrown out of work if the cotton supply would be cut off, a fact which suggested the conclusion that the hungry workers would demand recognition of the south. These opinions were not rash, even if they did prove erroneous.

France and England, despite their official neutrality, were favorably disposed toward the confederacy. The latter even allowed confederate ships, such as the *Alabama,* to be built on English docks. On November 8, 1861, Captain Charles Wilkes removed two confederate emissaries to London and Paris, James Mason and John Slidell, from the British steamer *Trent.* Because this could not be justified it seriously threatened the status of the north, and the emissaries were released with apologies.

Being aware of British and European animosity, Washington officials summoned Archbishop Hughes of New York in October, 1861, and asked him to sponsor the union cause abroad. While refusing to accept any official position, he consented to serve his country in a private capacity. On November 6, 1861, the archbishop and Thurlow Weed, a seasoned politician, sailed for Europe; the former bound for France, the latter for England.[1]

William Dayton, the American minister in France, was not happy that an unofficial envoy had arrived in Paris, and it was left to the archbishop to arrange his own presentation at the court.[2] He secured an appointment, and had a seventy-minute conversation with the emperor, Napoleon III, and Empress Eugenie on the international aspect of the war. The meeting took place at the Tuileries on December 24, 1861. Hughes recommended that the emperor offer his services as mediator between England and America in regard to "the *Trent* affair," but the emperor declined. The tariff and the blockade were discussed, and the archbishop encouraged France to raise cotton in Algeria, and thus become independent of the American supply.[3] Realizing that Empress Eugenie was a Spaniard by birth, he represented the south as planning to use Cuba for the promotion of slavery.

---

[1]Hassard, *op. cit.,* 448. Bishop Charles P. McIlvaine, a non-Catholic, was given a similar mission. In 1863 Rev. Henry Ward Beecher was in England giving speeches under the auspices of the Emancipation Society. The church of England in general favored the south, but most Englishmen were reluctant about fighting on the side of slavery.

[2]Rena Mazyck Andrews, *Archbishop Hughes and the Civil War,* part of a dissertation (Chicago, 1935), 7.

[3]Hassard, *op. cit.,* 467.

Doubtless he could talk effectively on Cuban affairs not only because he followed current events, but also because he had visited the island in 1853.

In addition to meeting the imperial family, Hughes stayed in Paris meeting ambassadors, church officials, and prominent gentlemen in the government service. At dinners and soirées he presented his views on the recognition of the confederacy. These social contacts were equally as important as the conversation at the Tuileries, since it seems that the archbishop's real purpose was to create good will among the higher class of French society and to mould public opinion against the recognition of the confederacy. Truly, such work is intangible, but visits and dinners are often more important than ammunition and official communications. Since the task was intangible, the measure of success must be vague. He himself said that he was traveling in the interests of peace, yet he told Cardinal Barnabo: "No one but myself either north or south, knows the entire object of my visit to Europe."

The task of Hughes required unusual tact because there were differences of opinion among the Catholics of France. There were many ultraconservative Catholics who frowned on the United States as the exponent of radical ideas and they did not forget the role that French agnostics had played in its foundation. This extremely conservative spirit endured throughout the century even though Pope Leo's encyclical *Immortale Dei* removed all stigmas from republics. Even after Cardinal Lavigerie's daring toast in the last decade of the century some French Catholics persevered in their royalist, reactionary ideas. Less conservative Frenchmen, however, like Montalembert and Lacordaire, sided with the north and rhapsodized about the freedom which the Church enjoyed in the United States. *Le Correspondant,* an organ of the liberal faction, had favored the north and its editor, Augustin Cochin, had written against slavery. Hughes was not perfectly welcome in either group, but he exercised a quieting influence generally on the more voluble characters in high society. As for the government, Napoleon III had been favorably disposed to the Church in the first decade of his rule, but shortly before 1860 his attitude cooled,

and the fact that French troops were upholding the papal state caused more and more friction within France. The question of self-determination was involved in the Italian struggle and also in the Polish revolution, and to Europeans the same thing seemed to be at stake in the United States. Important as all these elements were, England chose not to take any official stand, and France decided to imitate her wary neighbor across the channel.[4]

Upon returning from Europe Archbishop Hughes preached a sermon in St. Patrick's cathedral in the course of which he said:

I had no message to deliver. Another could have carried the message; but none was committed, except the message of peace; except the message of correcting erroneous ideas as opportunity might afford me the chance of doing, in the same spirit and to the same end. I have lost no opportunity, according to my discretion, and that was the only qualification connected with my going; I have lost no opportunity to accomplish these ends: to explain what was misunderstood, to inspire, so far as language of mine could have that effect, the spirit of peace and good will into the people of foreign states toward that one nation to which I exclusively owe allegiance and fidelity. The task was not so easy as some might have anticipated; its accomplishment has not been so successful as I could have desired. Nevertheless, I trust that, directly or indirectly, my going abroad, in great part for the purpose of aiding the country has not been altogether without effect.[5]

In writing to Secretary Seward on November 1, 1862, Hughes said it was uncertain whether any of his efforts served to prevent either England or France from plunging into American affairs, and he emphasized that there was no love for the United States beyond the Atlantic. Almost a year before, on December 27, 1861, the prelate had written to him from Paris that he had been well received and that his visit was entirely satisfactory and encourag-

---

[4]Donaldson Jordan and Edwin Pratt, *Europe and the American Civil War* (Boston, 1931), 240-242.

[5]*Complete Works of the Most Reverend John Hughes,* ed. by Lawrence Kehoe (New York, 1864), II, 369. In this sermon the archbishop also discussed conscription. His correspondence with friends in Rome shows concern about the Vatican's opinion of the sermon.

ing, and that he had no idea that France would unite with England in an assault upon the United States.[6]

President Lincoln declared that Hughes turned sympathy our way in Europe more than any one else could have done. He attributed to him the change of unlimited thousands at home from doubtful and undecided lookers-on to active unionists. "He became a mountain of strength to us in the time when our emergencies were greatest, and a grateful people should remember him and his." Lincoln believed that at first the archbishop was adverse to the union cause, but later the president was so pleased with him that he said: "I intend to recommend in the most appropriate way I can that the pope appoint Archbishop Hughes a cardinal, and so far interfere in the ecclesiastical affairs of the church."[7]

In a letter to Cardinal Barnabo, Hughes remarked that the government believed that it was complimenting United States Catholics by making the request of him, and also that it was thereby condemning the know-nothings who attempted to brand Catholics as disloyal.[8] Similarly, the selection of Hughes was important because he himself was foreign born.

The United States had requested that the papal state follow a policy of non-intervention, and this request offered no difficulties to the capital of Christianity. Alexander Randall, the United States minister to the Vatican, in an audience with the Holy Father alluded to the United States clergy

for the purpose of drawing from the Holy Father, himself, an expression of the duty of citizens, living under a government, and protected by its laws, to support that government, and contribute to its stability; believing that an authoritative expression of this kind, might be advantageous, at home, in the way of improving the patriotic ardor of some of our foreign-born citizens.

I alluded to the case of Bishop Hughes, because an effort had

[6]*Ibid.*, 540; Hassard, *op. cit.*, 463.

[7]Robert Browne, *Abraham Lincoln and the Men of His Time* (Chicago, 1907), II, 430. It was believed by some that the government interfered with the appointments of the archbishops of New York and Baltimore. *Wahrheitsfreund,* June 29, 1864; Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 24.

[8]Hassard, *op. cit.*, 451.

been made to impress the idea, here that he had injured the cause of the church of Rome, by consenting to interfere in any manner, in favor of the government, and I sought an expression of approval from His Holiness, of the active agency of the bishop. I am pleased to report that, since my interview with His Holiness the bishops and priests, from the United States, have been very open and unreserved, in favor of supporting our government, and maintaining its stability.[9]

Pope Pius IX was not at all displeased with Archbishop Hughes, but said:

When we reflect upon the fact that under the constitution of the United States all forms of religious worship are placed upon an equality; when we reflect upon the almost innumerable ministers who represent these different forms of worship; and when we reflect, moreover, that the government of the United States, at a most critical moment, has singled out John, Archbishop of New York, to be entrusted with a most important mission, and as one in whom the government has thought proper to place its frank, its full, its unreserved confidence; of this selection we may justly feel proud.[10]

Randall appreciated the power of friendship with the Vatican because that meant sympathy from many Frenchmen and some Englishmen. With the temporal power of the papacy on the wane, Catholics the world over focused their eyes and their affection on Rome. Consequently, if he could develop an intimate friendship with the Catholic church, universal animosity to the United States would become impossible. When the New York metropolitan arrived in Rome, he found letters there censuring him for accepting a government commission. He wrote to Seward that he explained the whole matter to Cardinals Antonelli and Barnabo, as also to the Holy Father and they not only approved his conduct, but showed a disposition to confer additional honors.[11]

---

[9]*United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches,* ed. by Leo Stock (Washington, 1933), 247. Randall, as governor of Wisconsin, had been an enthusiastic supporter of the war. See *infra,* chapter IX.

[10]*Ibid.,* 252.

[11]Hassard, *op. cit.,* 474.

The actions of the Vatican were under scrutiny, as can be seen in the records of the United States ministers to the papal state. Like Popes Benedict XV and Pius XII, of recent date, Pope Pius IX as vice-regent of the King of Peace longed for peace, and expressed that wish without taking sides. On October 18, 1862, Pius IX wrote a letter to the archbishops of New York and New Orleans asking both to labor strenuously for peace. He urged them in the following terms:

> Neglect nothing as long as it is compatible with your office, which you by reason of your wisdom, and authority can undertake to unite, to calm, and to assuage the spirits of the fighters. . . . We hope that our paternal exhortation will be the more graciously accepted, that our words will be heard because we are moved, not by any political motives nor by any earthly considerations, but solely by fatherly love.[12]

Jefferson Davis, anxious to advance his cause, replied to the papal letter on September 23, 1863, and forwarded it to the Holy Father through the confederate representative, A. Dudley Mann. On December 3, 1863, the pope responded in general terms of Christian charity.[13] His Holiness gave him the title Your Excellency, but this was a sheer formality. The letter of the pope was widely circulated in some parts, but its contents were of no political value. Orestes Brownson probably was more disturbed about it than others, for he said it must either have been a forgery or it was obtained by grossly misrepresenting American affairs. As the war went on less and less attention was given to the Vatican, because neither side succeeded in shaking its neutrality. Finally, when the die was cast, the Holy Father recommended out

---

[12]The original Latin is given in *Pontificia Americana,* ed. by Donald Shearer (New York, 1933), 327. A similar letter was sent to Archbishop Purcell. See *Wahrheitsfreund,* February 17, 1864; L. Stock, "Catholic Participation in the Diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy" in *The Catholic Historical Review,* XVI, 1-18.

[13]*United States Ministers to Papal States,* 314; Stock in *Catholic Historical Review,* XVI, 16. The pope's letter to Davis is given in *The War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1900), series IV, vol. III, p. 401.

of charity that the victors deal leniently with the confederate president.

Hughes, while he was abroad, went to Ireland to preach at the cornerstone laying of the Catholic university in Dublin on July 20, 1862, and on that occasion he defended the cause of the north. This was not valueless because the know-nothing movement had served to ally in some minds godlessness and the north, even though many Irish emigrants had settled there. Furthermore, it was known in Europe that many Catholics in the south were aligned with the confederacy.[14] On one occasion Hughes almost passed as a recruiting agent by saying: "If we do not finish it [the war] soon enough, we will send over for 20,000 more of you to fight under our flag." Although this remark sounds serious, it harmonizes well with the archbishop's character, but no evidence shows that he gained Irish recruits for the federal army.[15]

It was not hard to interest Irishmen in the American conflict because it seemed similar to their own. As they were trying to free themselves from British rule, so was the south trying to escape a persecuting north. On the other hand, since England was friendly to the rebellion, the Irish naturally felt a tendency to defend the opposite side. Moreover, the Irish had no reason to sympathize with the south because in that region their fellow countrymen had been forced into the war,[16] and in the little industry that there was the immigrants did the dangerous work. If accidents claimed their lives, the employers did not suffer financially as they did when their slaves met accidental death.

During the war the immigration of Irishmen to America continued at a brisk rate. Normally it should have declined. Southerners did not attribute this to the homestead act which was passed after the secession, nor did they ascribe it to the lure of employment on the transcontinental railroad which was begun during the war and finally finished in 1869. They envisioned troops of brawny Irishmen coming to the United States to fight

[14]Stock in *Catholic Historical Review,* XVI, 1-18.

[15]Andrews, *op. cit.,* 9.

[16]See "Recommendation" of Archbishop Purcell, Clarke, *op. cit.,* II, 214.

against the confederacy. In the autumn of 1863 James Capston arrived in Ireland from the south to enlighten prospective emigrants about affairs in the new world. Both he and Robert Dowling zealously worked to show how hostile the north was to Catholics and they pointed out that the Irish soldiers themselves were not appreciated even after they had sacrificed their lives for their adopted fatherland. Capston and Dowling were successful, but their power was substantially increased by the arrival of an ally in the person of Father John Bannon.

Father Bannon had been born in Ireland, educated at Maynooth, and ordained in 1853. Upon coming to the United States he joined the archdiocese of St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick appointed him to St. John's church in the see city, but as soon as war broke out he left with no formalities to become a chaplain in the southern army. He did not consult his bishop either because he was unfriendly toward him, or because he feared that he would bring the bishop under suspicion of treason if he went to the army with episcopal approbation. In October, 1863, Bannon began his propaganda work in Ireland at the request of his government. Being a priest he got a hearing everywhere and he substantiated his partisan statements by quoting from the *Freeman's Journal* and other American papers. By spring of 1864 he thought he had finished his assignment of deterring immigrants and of featuring the religious abuses which the northerners heaped upon southern Catholics, so he joined Bishop Lynch of Charleston who called in Ireland en route to Paris and Rome where he expected to do for the south what Hughes had done for the north. Commissioned in the spring of 1864 the bishop faced serious difficulties in trying to change the opinions of churchmen which had crystallized with the passing of years. Father Bannon did not accompany the bishop very long because he had decided to tread other paths, and before the war was over he had joined the Jesuits. He remained faithful to the society of Jesus until his death in 1913 but he never lost his admiration for the confederacy which he had served.[17]

[17]Richard Purcell, "Ireland and the American Civil War," *The Catholic*

Bishop Lynch, like Father Bannon, probed into the reasons underlying the great exodus from Ireland, and, in his report to the confederate government, he stressed non-military reasons such as absentee ownership of the land which had impoverished the farmers and the series of bad crops which had plunged the Irish deeply into debt. He admitted that his cause of discouraging emigration had been aided by the circulation of a letter from his namesake, Bishop Lynch of Toronto, to the Irish bishops deprecating the wholesale emigration on religious and moral grounds, but the confederate emissary feared that the tide was too strong to be turned back. After visiting in Ireland the bishop of Charleston went to London where he visited Cardinal Wiseman, only to find that the Danish question had completely monopolized the limelight. From England he went to France where he interviewed the apostolic nuncio, the archbishop of Paris, and Napoleon III. The latter was affable although he did not commit himself to anything worth-while even if he did say he hoped there would be some decisive battle so that England and France might at once recognize the south. Lynch unctuously injected into the conversation a compliment to Napoleon for what he had done in Mexico "in the interests of good order, civilization, and religion," but the emperor remained suavely silent and the audience came to an end.[18]

Returning to the voyage of Archbishop Hughes brings up

World, April, 1922; Leo Stock, "Catholic Participation in the Diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy," *The Catholic Historical Review,* XVI, 1-18; Ignatius Ryan, "Confederate Agents in Ireland," *Historical Records and Studies,* XXVI, 40-98.

Frank L. Owsley in *The Dictionary of American Biography* s. v. A. D. Mann, speaking of his diplomatic career in England and Belgium, claims that the north secured large numbers of soldiers in Ireland and Germany. Mann went to the pope to stop this flow of recruits into the northern army. According to the article the Holy Father was shocked at hearing how his subjects were used for cannon fodder and he tried to discourage enlistments. Owsley ends very vaguely by saying that many were restrained by the pope's objection but that there was no appreciable decrease in the number of recruits.

[18]The report of Lynch to J. P. Benjamin, confederate secretary of state, is given in *The American Catholic Historical Researches,* XXII, 250-259.

the relations of the United States to Spain. Writing to Seward on February 11, 1862, Hughes said he would visit Spain to avert recognition of the south if this could not be effected by making contact with the Spanish minister in Rome. Ten days later in another letter he reported he was satisfied that no recognition would be given.[19] While in Rome Hughes met Spanish cardinals and bishops and he always presented his views, not forgetting to mention that the south had a covetous eye on Cuba for the expansion of slavery. In June of the same year Hughes still toyed with the idea of going to Madrid, but finally he decided to proceed to Ireland and thence to America.

While Hughes himself did not visit Spain, he asked his colleague, Bishop Domenec[20] of Pittsburgh, who attended the canonization of the Japanese martyrs in Rome, to influence Spain against the confederacy. The bishop had audiences with the queen and her ministers, and, according to Archbishop Hughes, he was very successful. John G. Shea wrote, "he was eminently successful in his mission," and Hughes ventured to say, "Bishop Domenec, of all those who had been sent by the government of the United States to arrange these matters, is the only one who ever really succeeded in his mission."[21] The national archives in Washington, however, are almost silent about the influence of the bishop of Pittsburgh. Horatio Perry of the legation in Spain wrote casually to William Seward on July 31, 1862, that Domenec was in Madrid visiting his aged mother, and, "being Spanish by birth his representations and his influence over his countrymen have been of much service here." If Bishop Domenec was successful, it must be remembered that he was not the only spokesman. Hughes had

---

[19]Hassard, *op. cit.*, 472-80, *passim.*

[20]Bishop Michael Domenec was born of wealthy parents in Ruez, Spain. At the age of fifteen he went with his parents to France where he met the future Bishop Timon. Domenec arrived in the United States in 1838. He was appointed bishop of Pittsburgh in 1860. He died in Tarragona, Spain, in 1878.

[21]John Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* vol. 1843-66 (New York, 1892), 421; Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 585.

made Spanish contacts in Rome, Carl Schurz[22] had worked toward that same end, and in 1862 the O'Donnell ministry was too weak to be aggressive.

Catholic Austria was not overlooked by the defenders of the union. Considering that it was the fatherland of Maximilian of Mexico it is surprising that it escaped vituperation from the know-nothing element which was never entirely absent in the United States. John L. Motley, the American representative at the Hapsburg court, had little to worry him and he had ample leisure to perfect his knowledge of history in which he was professionally interested. He did, however, report that in Vienna there was more sympathy for the north than in any other city of Europe. Austria, as a federal state, realized the dangers of secession, and, as a policy, she did not recognize *de facto* governments. At the same time she appreciated the wisdom of emancipation as the means of destroying the barrier between north and south and she wished that experiment success.[23]

Bavaria was a country of less importance but its king received data on American affairs from Abbot Wimmer of Pennsylvania. In 1856 he had informed his royal patron that in America there were three parties: real republicans or democrats who meant well with the union and constitution, pseudo-republicans who wanted to exalt the north over the south, even at the risk of civil war, and know-nothings. Speaking of slavery he explained to his majesty that Catholics did not favor slavery and that they desired its abolition, but not with violence and not suddenly so that the Negroes would fall into the hands of demagogues and become a faction which would be hostile to freedom, to Catholics, and to immigrants. Four years later, after the next election, Wimmer reported that the south was preparing to leave the union. In his

---

[22]Barbara Donner, "Carl Schurz the Diplomat" in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, March, 1937.

[23]Jordan and Pratt, *op. cit.*, 195. See also Leon Sensabaugh, "Motley's Vienna Mission," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, December, 1935, 29-44; Claire Lynch, *The Diplomatic Mission of John Lathrop Motley to Austria 1861-1867* (Washington, 1944), 74-98. Motley himself was an ardent abolitionist and interested in political preferences.

opinion secret societies and hatred of the Church had played a substantial role in the election notwithstanding the fact that the question of abolition had been pushed into the foreground. Again he said that Catholics really wanted slavery abolished, but they did not want the slaves to become masters and the masters slaves. In February, 1861, the abbot opined that civil war would be averted, but he added that the forty-eighters were the main disturbers of the peace. He judged that the fanatical interference in politics by the Protestant preachers would induce many Americans to give the Catholic church a hearing. That summer when war had become a reality Wimmer complained that many of the students in his seminary could not pay their tuition because industry had slumped to a great extent. Nor could he send some of his students home because coming from the south they could no longer make the journey. Later in 1861 he relayed the following information to Munich:

It is surprising that the president of the United States is a Catholic, but only a bad one, and likewise the generalissimus of the south, Beauregard, is also a Catholic, but a practical one who devoutly goes to communion and confession every month. If no slave uprising divides and cripples the powers of the confederacy, the north, even if it is three times as strong, will not be able to conquer it. There the slaves are the real wealth of the people. By their liberation that would not only be destroyed, but the existence of the whites would be called into question because in some states the Negroes are in the majority. For that reason children and women in those places practice shooting to defend themselves against the blacks if necessary.

As for the rest of Wimmer's correspondence, he admitted that the Benedictines had suffered little from the war, with the one exception of the draft. Throughout the war he expressed his dislike for all abettors of the German revolutionary movement of 1848, and, after the war was over, he fired another shot at the Protestants by saying that the Methodists and Puritans who had started the war in the first place were busy trying to create another upheaval.[24]

[24]*Bonifaz Wimmer und König Ludwig I. von Bayern Ihre Briefe als*

A word must be said about Belgium. In 1862 and 1863 Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston toured Europe. He tried to say a good word for the northern cause whenever he could, but he often experienced that his hearers were not disposed to agree with him. In Belgium, however, he found all ranks of society friendly to the north, and he ascribed that in part to the activities of Henry S. Sanford who was the United States minister in Brussels. The latter in turn assured Seward that in a thoroughly Catholic country like Belgium the statements of prelates had great weight and that the bishop had done his country a sizeable service in removing prejudices against it.[25]

By way of conclusion it may be said that all these churchmen were acting unofficially, and, therefore, records of their activities are not detailed. Their correspondence was private, and, when they were sent abroad, their duties were not clearly defined. Hence, it is impossible to evaluate their work precisely.

Beitrag zur Geschichte der katholischen Kirche und des Deutschtums in den Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas, ed. by Willibald Mathäser (Munich, 1938), 89-170.

[25]Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, Edward T. Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944), II, 710-711.

VII

THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD

Since the Fenian brotherhood fell under the condemnation of the Church it may seem strange to discuss it in these essays. However, in overwhelmingly Catholic countries such as Italy, Ireland, Spain, or Poland there can be no sizeable movement without religious implications, because the participants are at least nominal Catholics, and, in many circles, the opinions of the clergymen carry considerable weight even though they are not accepted.

The Irish had long striven to free themselves from British rule, and, as time went on, insurrections multiplied. In 1798 Wolf Tone, a Presbyterian, founded the Society of United Irishmen to free Ireland, and he entered into relations with France which was then on unfriendly terms with England. The plot failed and Tone was executed, but five years later Robert Emmet attempted another uprising which ended in his death on the gallows. In 1829 Catholic emancipation was granted to avoid the risk of civil war, but many grievances still irked the Irish. Enthusiasts for an increase of liberty banded together under the title of Young Ireland and staged an abortive insurrection in 1848 which forced them into exile.

James Stephens fled to Paris, John Mitchel eventually came to the new world, and John O'Mahoney[1] similarly made his home

[1]John O'Mahoney was born in Cork County, Ireland, in 1816. He identified himself with the Young Ireland movement in protest of O'Connell's cautious conduct. When Smith O'Brien's uprisings failed in 1848 he fled to France where he remained till 1853 when he went to New York. In 1860-1861 he visited Ireland and interviewed James Stephens who was promoting revolution. The two did not trust each other. In 1864 O'Mahoney raised the 99th regiment, New York National Guard, and became its captain. In 1865 a number of Fenians seceded from O'Mahoney and claimed William Roberts, also an Irish American, as president. O'Mahoney resigned his office but continued to agitate for Irish freedom till his death in 1877. O'Mahoney was a Catholic, and, perhaps because he was so well disposed

in the United States which in 1860 had among its residents over 1,600,000 Irishmen who constituted fully half of the Catholic population.

In 1853 Stephens organized an international brotherhood for the purpose of freeing Ireland. The organization spread throughout the world, and in 1858 John O'Mahoney launched the American branch with the aid of Michael Doheny and Michael Corcoran,[2] and gave it the name Fenian Brotherhood. As soon as the civil war broke out O'Mahoney began to recruit soldiers for the union army, realizing that thereby he would ultimately have at his disposal trained men to use against the hereditary oppressor. Americans were not unfriendly to this recruiting because in some instances the cities were glad to lose the impoverished Irish element, and, more especially, they were happy because the volunteers who went into the army enabled others to remain at home. Not

---

to the Church, some clerics proceeded gently in the hope of changing the nature of the organization.

John Mitchel was not a Catholic, although his eldest daughter, Henrietta (1842-1863) was a convert. He was exiled for treason-felony in 1848 but eventually made his way to New York where he rose to fame as a publicist. He undermined his future by defending slavery and by becoming involved in a controversy with the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. Mitchel opposed the know-nothings and asked, "If your order be indeed against foreigners, not against Catholics, how happens it that we see none of its animosities directed against the Germans?" He roiled Archbishop Hughes by maintaining that the Romans had the right to determine their form of government as well as anyone else. During the war Mitchel and his family were partisans of the confederacy.

James Stephens, a Protestant, was born in Kilkenny around 1825. He and Michael Doheny planned to kidnap the prime minister, Lord Russell. When the plot failed he fled to Paris. After a few years he returned to Ireland traveling extensively with Thomas Luby. The result was the formation of the Fenian Brotherhood. When his plans failed in 1865 he fled to Paris and thence to America. Ultimately he returned to Ireland where he died in 1901.

[2]Michael Corcoran was born in Carrowkeel, Ireland, on September 21, 1827. He arrived in the United States in 1849 and came to public notice in 1861 as colonel of the 69th New York regiment. At Bull Run he was wounded and captured. In 1862 he was exchanged and promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. He raised an Irish legion, served in Virginia and North Carolina, and died on December 22, 1863, as a result of injuries received when he fell from his horse.

all of the Fenians of 1861 were inexperienced in warfare. Thomas Sweeny, for example, had fought in the Mexican war and in some of the Indian wars, while John O'Neill had participated in the hostilities against the Mormons.[3]

Irish leaders long realized that their hopes lay in striking England while she was at war. During the Crimean war (1853-1856) some of the Irish had agitated against England, but as the civil war gained momentum, the possibility of a European war gave birth to more sanguine hopes.

Consequently the Fenian brotherhood decided to hold a national congress in Chicago in November, 1863. Sixty-three circles were represented at this meeting which enjoyed the felicitations of army men such as Thomas F. Meagher[4] and Michael Corcoran.

---

[3]Thomas Sweeny was born in Cork County, Ireland, on December 25, 1820. In 1832 he came to the United States and in 1846 became a second lieutenant of the New York volunteers in the Mexican war. In January, 1861, he was made a captain and sent to the federal arsenal in St. Louis. Later he participated in the battles at Shiloh, Corinth, and Atlanta. In 1865 he was made secretary of war of the "Irish Republic." Since Sweeny insisted on conquering Canada he was charged with supervising its invasion in 1866. He was seized by the United States government and released without trial. He died in Astoria, Long Island, on April 10, 1892.

John O'Neill was born on March 8, 1834, at Drumgallon, Ireland, came to America in 1848, operated a Catholic book store in Richmond, and then took up an army career. At the beginning of the civil war he served with the 1st cavalry of California, later with the 5th Indiana cavalry, and finally he became a captain in the 17th United States colored infantry. In May, 1866, he led a detachment from Nashville to participate in the attack on Canada. O'Neill was seized but he was not prosecuted for violating the neutrality laws. On May 25, 1870, he attacked Canada on the Vermont border. Though sentenced to two years' imprisonment, the president pardoned him after three months. On October 5, 1871, he seized Hudson's Bay post at Pembina and was again acquitted. He died in Omaha on January 7, 1878. O'Neill in Holt county, Nebraska, bears his name. Throughout his life O'Neill claimed to be a devout Catholic.

[4]Thomas F. Meagher was born in Waterford, Ireland, on August 23, 1823. In 1845 he joined the Young Ireland party, and in 1848 he was arrested. Though condemned to death for treason, the sentence was commuted to banishment. Escaping in 1852 he made his way to New York where he became a leader of the Irish population. When the war came he organized a company of soldiers which became part of the 69th Volunteers. Eventually he became the commander of the Irish Brigade, and he himself

John O'Mahoney, himself a Catholic, put his finger on the sore spot when he said in his address:

> In certain quarters anathemas of the Church have been threatened against our associates, though upon pretenses that are without any solid basis. We have been charged with being a "secret society." Churchmen have been persuaded to assail us, though in very rare instances; but rare as these instances have been, no other attack has injured us so much.[5]

In order to obviate this difficulty or at least to confuse the reading public, resolution VI proclaimed that the Fenian brotherhood was not a secret society nor was it an oath bound organization. Resolution XV expressed sympathy with the Poles in their concurrent "noble and almost desperate struggle against the giant despotism of Russia." The Fenians recognized the more strategic position of the Irish because, unlike the Irish, few Poles were outside the reach of their oppressor. The resolution offered the prayers of the Fenians for the success of the Poles, and it also spoke kindly of the solicitude of Pope Pius IX for Poland.

On January 17, 1865, the Fenians held their second national congress in the Metropolitan Hall in Cincinnati. Their membership had grown, but the complaint remained that the principal opposition came from the Catholic clergy. In October, 1865, the third congress was held in Philadelphia. Since the civil war was at an end, and, in view of the fact that the Dublin police had raided the offices of the *Irish People* at a psychological moment, the time had come for more vigorous action, so Captain P. D. Walsh declared in Philadelphia:

> The ballot box, the petition, the remonstrance, have all been resorted to without effect, and today the Irish people are determined to give up all these and grasp the sword that will cut asunder their bonds.[6]

---

participated in many important battles. In 1865 he was appointed territorial secretary of Montana. In July, 1867, he drowned in the Missouri river.

[5]*Proceedings of the First National Convention of the Fenian Brotherhood, Chicago, November, 1863* (Philadelphia, 1863), 10.

[6]*The Philadelphia Inquirer,* October 17, 1865.

Mr. A. M. Morrison took up the ecclesiastical problem and came to a hasty solution by saying:

Neither the priests and bishops of America nor Ireland shall decide whether we shall be slaves or freemen. I am a Catholic, but I cannot agree to that. They say it is *immoral* to strive for Ireland, and I say it is *not.*[7]

After referring to Lawrence O'Toole he assured his hearers that, "Any man too pious to strike England is out of place here . . . 'A sin to strike England.' All should blush to say those accursed words." At the same time a news report gave the following argument publicity: "In the days of '98 Father Roach at Vinegar Hill and Father Murphy at Enescorty drove back the invader. If those eminent priests did right then, why should we not battle against the tyrant today."[8]

The Philadelphia Inquirer, in an editorial which appeared on October 19, 1865, recognized the serious nature of the assembly and showed itself well disposed to the Fenians by declaring:

While the American people will be slow to expect anything from the Fenian movement, the whole country would rise with the ardor of one man, could it be made to appear that Ireland would strike a blow, not wildly, but with steady aim and irresistible force.

Four days later the same journal pointed out that the Fenians were not guilty of waging war and that during the rebellion the English people did exactly the same things the Fenians were doing. They held confederate bazaars, sent cannons and muskets and also the *Alabama* and the *Shenandoah.*

Simultaneously the republicans in congress soft pedalled opposition to the Fenians in order to capture the Irish votes which normally went to democratic candidates. Some writers put forth the claim that the United States used the threat of Fenian strength to force England to make amends for the damage done by the *Alabama.* Since Europe was moving rapidly in the direction of a general war, it was to England's profit to keep the United States neutral. The Fenians were unsuccessful in their attempts to create

[7] *Ibidem.*
[8] *The Philadelphia Inquirer,* October 18, 1865.

a revolution in Ireland, so they attacked Canada along the Great Lakes and along the northern boundary of New York on June 1, 1866. From a military standpoint the invasion was a farce, and, although others were attempted later, they scarcely can be dignified by the term invasion.

Since the Church's attitude decreased the membership of the organization, reduced its income, and deprived it of much able leadership, it is of importance to review her attitude. Bishop Moriarity of Cork was a violent opponent of the revolutionary movement in Ireland and so was Cardinal Cullen of Dublin. The latter is said to have conceived a tremendous hatred for secret societies because of his prolonged residence in Italy at the time of the Carbonari. However, at an early date, Stephens had incorporated this in his general set of rules:

> Waste no time in attempting to gain the priests. Their one idea is the good of Mother Church. Let the revolution only succeed; Mother Church always knows how to adapt herself to accomplished facts. Besides, no priest is a free agent.[9]

Apart from all this was the question of whether the Fenians were technically a secret society. Many popes had severely condemned all secret societies, but were the Fenians a secret society? Different churchmen gave different answers.

Meanwhile, Terence Bellew McManus[10] died in San Francisco early in 1861. Although he had been an agitator he never thought well of the Fenians. The latter at the time of his death chose to forget that and to give his body a series of rousing ovations as it was being returned via New York to Ireland. The remains arrived in New York on September 13, 1861, and after resting in the Astor House they were transferred to St. Patrick's cathedral

---

[9]John Rutherford, *The Secret History of the Fenian Conspiracy — Its Origin, Objects, and Ramifications* (London, 1877), I, 59.

[10]Terence Bellew McManus was born in Ireland around 1823 but spent his youth in Liverpool. In 1848 he joined those who preferred to use physical force and stood with O'Brien to the last. He was arrested just as he was to sail for the United States. Though sentenced to death, the penalty was commuted to transportation for life. In 1852 he escaped with Meagher to San Francisco.

where a solemn requiem Mass was sung. No less a man than Archbishop Hughes preached the sermon. Realizing the explosiveness of the situation he limited himself to expounding the question: "When is a revolution justified?" While he made a reference to Stephen Langton and the Magna Carta, he came to no exciting conclusion concerning the Irish question. On October 31, 1861, the body of McManus arrived in Cork where the bishop promptly refused to admit it into the cathedral. In Dublin, Cardinal Cullen had closed his cathedral and all his churches to McManus, who was finally buried on November 10, 1861, in Glasnevin cemetery with an address by Father Lavelle. On November 29 the cardinal of Dublin had a new pastoral letter read condemning secret societies, but unlike the barren fig tree they did not wither suddenly and die.

When McManus came to his resting place, Archbishop Hughes was in Europe on behalf of the United States. John Rutherford in *The Secret History of the Fenian Conspiracy* says without documentation that his purpose was to recruit the armies of the north. The archbishop spoke of *ulterior* motives which men like Stephens interpreted their own way, and which Rutherford arbitrarily interprets to have meant the formation of an army to defend the papal state in Italy.[11]

Hughes died two months after the first Fenian convention was held in Chicago, but his colleague, Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati, lived to see the brotherhood convene in his see city

---

[11]I, 286-7. In 1859 Cardinal Cullen promoted the organization of the Irish Brigade which went to the papal state to help uphold the temporal power of the pope.

In Ireland, Hughes openly expressed his dislike of England, and on one occasion said: "The Irish have, in many instances, as I have the strongest reasons for knowing, entered into this war partly to make themselves apprentices, students as it were, finishing their education in this, the first opportunity afforded them of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the implements of war."

On another occasion Hughes was tricked into commending the Brotherhood of St. Patrick, which was not much different from the Fenian Brotherhood. While the archbishop retracted, all the damage could not be undone. See Hassard, *op. cit.*, 481-485.

several months before the civil war ended. The *Telegraph* said at the time of the gathering:

A congress of delegates, from various cities in the United States, assembled in Cincinnati, during the past week, to represent the Fenian Brotherhood. Persons who attended their secret sessions represent the proceedings as very dignified, and the members as men of intelligence. In all they do for the welfare of Ireland we wish them success, and we are with them heart and hand; but where they use a political organization to attack the Church, they cannot expect true Catholics to co-operate with them. Last week one of their writers, in the *Daily Times,* informed the public that the Fenians would treat with contempt the Bull of the Pope, if it interfered with their ideas. Now this is a poor way to hope to succeed by insulting people who are relied on to achieve the liberty of Ireland. There is no necessity for such language, and it only places us, who are devoted to the cause, in a false position. As the Fenians claim that their organization is not a secret one, and bound by no oath, we may all, so far as we know, unite in the movement; but Heaven is dearer than Ireland, and hence the religion of the people who will be relied on chiefly in the struggle, should not be needlessly insulted, nor its Pontiffs defied.[12]

A week later the same journal carried the following declaration from Archbishop Purcell:

1st. The undersigned, in order to correct present or future misapprehension of his views on Fenianism, takes this occasion to refer to what he has said on this subject, in public addresses in the cathedral, and in the St. Xavier's church in this city, within the last twelve months.

2nd. He also desires to remind all whom it may concern that he long since published, in the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph,* the constitution, by-laws, and oath of the said society, attested and circulated by the late Rev. E. O'Flaherty, proving said society to have been, at the time of the circulation of these documents, an oath-bound secret society, and as such to be shunned and avoided by every sincere and loyal Catholic.

3rd. It is claimed that the oath is no longer enforced, and that the Fenian Brotherhood is therefore no longer liable to condemnation, or distrust, as an oath-bound secret society. But this

---

[12]Quoted by Rutherford, *op. cit.,* I, 221.

I regard as simply an evasion. For in the proceedings of the first national convention of the Fenian Brotherhood, held in Chicago, Illinois, in 1863, and published in the same year by James Gibbons, Philadelphia, I read what I regard as equivalent to the strongest kind of oath, the following pledge of membership:

"I solemnly pledge my sacred word of honour, as a truthful and honest man, that I will implicitly obey the commands of my superior officers in the Fenian Brotherhood."

4th. Furthermore, in the XVIII resolution adopted in said convention, I read of the monstrous arbitrary power conferred on the head centre to confirm or annul the election of all state centres, and centres of circles, and that, through this despotic monarchical chief alone shall the brotherhood receive any communication from all parties whatsoever.

5th. If this does not constitute a supreme irresponsible tribunal, and bind the members hand and foot to its behests, I know not where such tribunal and such enslavement can be found on earth.

Finally. I love Ireland, I desire its independence, I deplore its sad fate for the last three hundred years, especially under the galling yoke of England's injustice, inhumanity, and tyranny; but I have no faith that the Fenian head or state centres could govern her, if they had the chance. On the contrary, I believe they would give her a worse constitution, and make her condition worse than it is at present. And I therefore conjure every man who has any respect for my judgment and advice, to have nothing to do with the Fenians.

On August 19, 1865, the Baltimore *Mirror* carried a notice from Archbishop Wood which came from Rome denying the rumor that the Holy See decided that the Fenians were not to be disturbed. The paper commented upon the anti-Catholic spirit of the brotherhood and also upon the fact that nearly all the bishops of Ireland and America had condemned it. In the same month Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis denounced Fenianism on the occasion of Henry McCarthy's funeral in the following way:

I have furthermore directed the superintendent of the Calvary cemetery not to admit any procession of men or women, bearing the insignia of Fenians within the gate of the cemetery. I use this occasion to state publicly, what I have uniformally *(sic)* stated in private conversation, that the members of the Fenian Brother-

hood, men or women, are not admissible to the sacraments of the Church as long as they are united with that association, which I have always regarded as immoral in its object—the exciting of rebellion—and unlawful and illegal in its means, a quasi-military organization in this country while at peace with England, to be made effective in the event of war with that power.[13]

Naturally the Fenians reacted by denouncing the clergy in their meetings. Bitter diatribes became common and a good deal of history was discussed going back as far as the time of Nicholas Breakspeare, an Englishman, who as Adrian IV occupied the throne of Peter. On the other hand, rumors were just as wild, and, during the third congress at Philadelphia, it was reported that the Fenians planned to execute all people of rank and all Roman Catholic clergymen in Ireland.[14]

It no longer belongs to this work to trace the history of the Fenian Brotherhood to its end, but from the foregoing it is evident that Fenianism must be analyzed in order to understand why the Irish were prominent supporters of the north during the war, while the French and German Catholics remained relatively stolid. This does not mean to say that all the Irish who went to war were Fenians, but the Fenians set an example which was followed by many fellow Irishmen who were not Fenians. With this inrush into the army the nation's leaders did not interfere because they were interested in filling the ranks at a time when conscription was gentle compared to the draft of the twentieth century. The hierarchy of the United States did not care to interfere because at first it was not clear that the Fenians were a secret society in the canonical sense, and simultaneously the Church was being applauded for the patriotic ardor with which her sons were rallying to the colors. Moreover, there was already a problem inside the American church which Archbishop Hughes called "Irishism,"[15]

---

[13]*Ibid.*, II, 189-191.

[14]*The Philadelphia Inquirer,* October 20, 1865.

[15]See Hughes, *Reflections and Suggestions in Regard to What is called the Catholic Press in the United States* (New York, 1856).

That Hughes recognized how critical national feelings had become is seen in this letter to Seward, September 12, 1861. "Our papers have para-

and silence was probably the better part of valor in the face of civil war. Lastly, not all the Irish fought for the north. No less a man than John Mitchel offered two sons on the battlefields of Jeff Davis.[16] Nevertheless, northern and southern Fenians co-operated which indicates that their objective was supra-national.

Since Cardinal Cullen of Dublin has been referred to as an archenemy of Young Ireland and the Fenians, it is curious to note that he saved the life of a Fenian leader, General Thomas F. Burke. He had fought in the United States during the civil war, and, being apprehended in Irish machinations, he was sentenced to death by the British government. The cardinal had received data from Archbishop McCloskey of New York and others that Burke had been induced to participate in the Fenian program without understanding it. Since Cullen had been known as an enemy of Fenianism, his prestige in high places was sufficient to have the British government spare the general's life.[17]

---

graphs every day about what is called the 'Irish Brigade,' intended for military service during the war. The thing itself may be all correct; but I would respectfully suggest that the name is not indicative of good. I think regiments and brigades ought to be distinguished by numbers, and companies by alphabetical distinction. I am of the opinion that if there be Irish Brigades, German Brigades, Scotch Brigades, Garibaldian Brigades in our army, there will be trouble among the troops even before the enemy comes in sight."

[16]John was killed at Fort Sumter and William was killed at Gettysburg. James was an officer in the confederate army, and their father took part in confederate relief work. After the war the father criticized Grant so bitterly that he was jailed at Fortress Monroe. Fenian pressure helped to secure his release.

[17]*The Catholic Encyclopedia,* s. v. Cullen.

VIII

CHARITY IN THE ARMIES

The Church was well represented in both the union and confederate armies. Never before had her sons participated in large numbers in an American war owing to the sparsity of Catholics in the nation. It was likewise the first war which evoked considerable Catholic charity. This manifested itself in three ways: In the work of chaplains, in the literature provided for the soldiers, and in the service of sisters in army hospitals.

What was the rank of chaplains in the union army? They were carried on the staff rolls after the surgeons, and their salary was that of cavalry captains, namely $100 per month, and two rations a day plus several other benefits.[1] How were they selected? The method was simple. Every colonel selected as chaplain a man for whom the officers on duty with the regiment had voted. In this way denominational differences were pushed aside; one regiment was allowed one chaplain, and he was obliged to hold public religious service for any deceased member.[2] Under this arrangement the officers sometimes chose an ordinary private for chaplain, but later congress remedied this abuse by requiring ecclesiastical recommendations from the nominees.[3]

Altogether forty Catholic chaplains served with the northern troops.[4] That statement, if it were left standing alone, would be misleading due to the fact that many priests served only a short time. This does not detract from the clergy because at the be-

---

[1]*The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), ser. III, vol. IV, 227, 1207; ser. III, vol. II, 278.

[2]*Ibid.*, ser. III, vol. I, 154, 157, 382.

[3]*Ibid.*, ser. III, vol. II, 519; ser. III, vol. III, 175. For adverse comment on chaplains' conduct, ser. III, vol. I, 728.

[4]Aidan Germain, *Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains 1776-1917* (Washington, 1929), alphabetical list. The number 43 given on page 58 is a misprint.

ginning of the war short terms were common and priests were at a premium in America, where the Catholic population had expanded out of all proportion to the number of priests. Father George Doane, for example, was commissioned on May 10, 1861, and was discharged on July 31; Father Alexander Geselachowski was commissioned on February 3, 1862, and was mustered out on May 31 of the same year; and even Archbishop Ireland, who later in life was far-famed as a chaplain, served only from July 7, 1862, to April 3, 1863. In resigning Father Ireland wrote:

My motive for thus resigning my position as chaplain of the said regiment, is that, within a few days past I have received a letter from my bishop, who, in view of the fact, that the clergyman, who has taken my place in Minnesota, is sick, and totally unable to attend to the spiritual wants of a large congregation, and further, in view of the fact, that in this regiment the number of those belonging to the Catholic church (of which church I am a minister) is comparatively so reduced, as not to warrant any more of the continual attendance of a clergyman of that church on this regiment, invites me to return home as soon as the laws and regulations of the army will allow me.[5]

Father Francis Fusseder, the pastor at Port Washington, Wisconsin, entered the service twice. He was commissioned chaplain of the 24th Wisconsin infantry on September 3, 1862, and was discharged on July 28, 1863, but on July 14, 1864, he was appointed to the 17th Wisconsin infantry, a post he held until the end of the war.[6]

Early in the war Lincoln saw the need of hospital chaplains. Since he lacked the power to appoint them, he called for volunteers and promised to ask congress for compensation. Accordingly, in May, 1862, congress empowered the president to station clergymen at permanent hospitals with the salary of regimental chaplains. In all, thirteen priests were appointed, but, again, the service of some was limited to a few months.[7]

---

[5]*Ibid.*, 71.

[6]For information about Father Fusseder, see Peter Leo Johnson, "Port Washington Draft Riot of 1862," *Mid-America,* January, 1930.

[7]*Official Records,* ser. III, vol. I, 721; ser. III, vol. II, 67. Germain, *op. cit.*, alphabetical list.

The south also made provision for chaplains. On April 27, 1861, the confederate secretary of war wrote:

> Military experience demonstrates the importance of religious habitudes to the morality, good order, and general discipline of an army in the camp or in the field. If we expect God to bless us in our struggle in defense of our rights—to terminate in all probability, only after a protracted and bloody war—we must recognize Him in our actions.[8]

A week later the president of the confederacy was given the broad power of appointing as many chaplains as he deemed expedient and such appointments were to last throughout the war.[9]

In the north the chaplain was approximated to a captain of the cavalry, but in the south he had no special rank, and his salary fluctuated. For a time it was $85 per month, later $50, and in April, 1862, it was raised to $80 with rations of a private.[10] Both the north and the south agreed to set free the chaplains who were captured with the soldiers. While at times their liberation was tardy, this humane arrangement remained in force throughout the war.[11]

Scholars have marshaled the names of twenty-eight confederate Catholic chaplains, but this number is questionable owing to the incompleteness of the confederate archives. Like their brothers in the north, many priests served short terms; for example, Father Samuel Barber, S. J., a former professor at Georgetown, served a little over a year; Father Patrick Coyle less than a year; and Father Manucy was appointed as late as January, 1865.[12]

In addition to the official chaplains, many other priests rendered invaluable service to the men of the blue and the gray. At Annapolis two Redemptorists, Fathers Freitag and Rosenbauer, had a chapel erected for the soldiers who were encamped there.

---

[8]*Ibid.*, ser. IV, vol. I, 252.

[9]*Ibid.*, ser. IV, vol. I, 275. *Propagateur Catholique*, 1861, *passim* joyfully featured the chaplains accompanying the troops.

[10]*Ibid.*, ser. IV, vol. 1, 275, 327, 595, 1076; ser. IV, vol. III, 163, 194.

[11]*Ibid.*, ser. II, vol. IV, 288, 795.

[12]Germain, *op. cit.*, alphabetical list. The confederacy also arranged to have chaplains at hospitals, *Official Records*, ser. IV, vol. III, 496.

It was but natural that priests who were located near the lines should offer their services to soldiers who enjoyed leave for religious purposes. The most renowned unofficial chaplain was without doubt Father Paul Gillen of Notre Dame university, who equipped himself with a buggy in which he slept and kept his provisions. He followed the army, pitching his chapel-tent wherever he found men in need of divine grace. Army regulations, however, banned citizens and non-military vehicles from the lines, so one day when General Grant encountered the unique van he had the priest arrested, with the result that Father Gillen accepted a commission with the 170th New York infantry whose members he served till the end of the war.[13]

Although priests did the hazardous work of caring for the soldiers' souls, the bishops were not oblivious of their responsibility. Bishop Duggan, of Chicago, for instance, asked permission for priests to visit prisoners of war at Camp Douglas, located in that city, but was advised:

> When any of the sick in hospitals desire to see a clergyman, they are permitted to do so without regard to the particular denomination to which the minister belongs; and upon the Sabbath, if the prisoners desire it, they may have divine service by any clergyman they may select who is willing to preach to them, provided there is no special inconvenience attending it. But clergymen have nowhere had the privilege of visiting prisoners except when invited as above and the rule cannot be extended at Camp Douglas.[14]

This reply sounds harsh in the twentieth century, but it must be remembered that a century ago many clergymen were rabid political agitators whose conduct was unpredictable.

Besides being officially interested in the soldiers, some prelates visited the camps in person. On October 15, 1862, Archbishop Hughes of New York confirmed Catholic soldiers at Staten Island.[15]. Bishop Timon of Buffalo reviewed McMahon's

---

[13]William Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life* (Chicago, 1893), 307-11.

[14]*Official Records*, ser. II, vol. VII, 374. *Official Records*, ser. II, vol. VI, 248; *Ibid.*, 363, hint at political activity.

[15]*Freeman's Journal*, October 25, 1862.

regiment and exhorted the men to bravery, assuring them that by serving God they also serve their country.[16] Bishop Wood of Philadelphia visited Fort Delaware, which was near Philadelphia, in order to give captured southerners spiritual comfort. The bishop with two assistants spent three full days hearing confessions; three Masses were offered daily and as many sermons were preached.[17] He also visited Satterlee hospital several times to confirm converts and Catholics who had been negligent.[18] Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati often went to the camps to preach and to administer the sacraments, and at least once he was accompanied by Bishop Spalding of Louisville. Though the former was strongly devoted to the cause of the north while the latter tried to show no sympathy for either side, both prelates found no difficulty in working hand in hand for the spiritual welfare of the men in uniform. In 1862, after the batttle of Shiloh had subsided, Bishop Quinlan of Mobile went to Tennessee to take his place on the battlefield as an ordinary priest to assist the wounded and dying. Throughout the war Bishop Elder of Natchez was a frequent caller at the hospitals; he spent hours and hours consoling and anointing the sick at Fort Hudson; and after the battle of Port Gibson in 1863 he hurried to the scene of suffering to be an angel of mercy. During the epidemic he and Father Charles Queckelberge heroically visited the sick, and one of the bishop's priests, Father Basil Elia, died in Memphis on April 2, 1863, as a result of having served the union troops at Vicksburg who were without a Catholic chaplain at the time.

Impressive as this may sound, it would be a mistake to conclude that the soldiers' souls were well cared for during the war. In the midst of the conflict the *Wahrheitsfreund* informed its readers to the contrary. The editor gave the following statistics:

> In regard to the United States army, we see from the official records of the war department that there are 472 chaplains. Among these there are 22 Catholic priests, whereas there are 450 Protes-

[16] *Wahrheitsfreund,* September 24, 1862.

[17] *Ibid.,* March 22, 1865.

[18] "Notes on Satterlee Military Hospital," ed. by Sara T. Smith, in American Catholic Historical Society, *Records,* VIII.

tant chaplains. The proportion of Catholic to Protestant chaplains is, consequently, about one to twenty. No one claims that this ratio fits the Catholic and Protestant soldiers. We surely estimate the number of Catholic soldiers too low, if we say that they form one-sixth of the whole number. . . . Where the regiment is entirely Catholic, there is naturally a Catholic chaplain. But there are regiments where one-third are Catholic, and yet there is no Catholic chaplain in the brigade, or in the whole division. There are only a few regiments in which there are no Catholic soldiers, and we do not believe that the tenth part of these Catholics can receive the sacraments when they have most need of them.[19]

The same paper also made public a letter to a priest from a non-Catholic officer at Sommerset, Kentucky. It reads:

It is nearly four months since some of the Catholics in this wing of the army had an opportunity to enjoy the services of a priest. I am daily reminded of this by believing men whose wishes are proof of the kind of religious principles for which they stand.

Can you visit this regiment and thereby console them, many of whom are your former parishioners? If you cannot come, couldn't you have the bishop send a priest from Cincinnati? If you or another will come, I shall furnish lodging and board at my own table and make the approach to the men easy. I need not ask you to regard this matter from the spiritual standpoint. I, as a commanding officer, regard it from the standpoint of moral influence on brave men who are performing a dangerous duty.[20]

Then, again, a Wisconsin soldier complained in the Milwaukee *Seebote* that the appointment of a Catholic chaplain had stimulated recruiting but later the recruits learned to their disgust that only the Seventeenth Regiment enjoyed the chaplain's services.[21]

Regardless of how inadequate the number of chaplains was, those who served in the army had interesting careers. The life of a priest is closely bound up with the altar, but in the army the priest first had to provide his altar. Father Corby[22] of Notre Dame

---

[19]*Wahrheitsfreund,* April 30, 1862.
[20]*Ibid.,* January 16, 1862.
[21]*Ibid.,* August 6, 1862.
[22]Corby, *op. cit., passim.*

tells in his memoirs how he helped himself on one occasion when he was in a dense woods. Soldiers "drove four crotched sticks in the ground and put two short pieces, about two and a half feet in length, from one crotch across to the other; they then cut down a tree, and having cut off a length about six feet, split the log in two, and placed the pieces of split timber, flat side up, lengthwise, to form the table of the altar." Assuredly, things were not always that crude. In May, 1862, a large tent served as his church, and in 1863, for a St. Patrick's day celebration, a sort of church was erected by planting pine posts for skeleton walls and by intertwining pine branches for the roof. Father Corby celebrated the Mass, Father O'Hagan, S. J., preached the sermon and General Meagher directed the military band. The same year a collection was taken up for the poor of Ireland which netted $1,240.50, and, incidentally, demonstrated that collections cannot be dodged by joining the army.

Since a good conscience begets courage, and because the soldiers needed it not only to fight the foe, but also to face their eternal Judge, the chaplains were busy hearing confessions both before and after the battle. Though the law of the land did not place them in the front rank, their duty did. Father Ouellet, S. J., gained renown during the battle of Malvern Hill by going along the battle front wearing his stole and carrying a lantern asking each victim, "Are you a Catholic? Do you wish absolution?" Father Bliemel, O. S. B., was wounded in the battle of Jonesborough while hearing the confession of a dying soldier, and he himself died as a consequence on October 5, 1864. Besides hearing the confessions of individuals general absolution was given. At Antietam, on September 17, 1862, the confederates were offering stiff opposition. Father Corby's men were doing "double quick," so the priest gave rein to his horse and, galloping along the lines, he told his men to be sorry for their sins. Arriving at the front, he turned his steed for a moment to give absolution and then rode on with General Meagher to battle. At Gettysburg, on the afternoon of July 2, 1863, he also gave general absolution. Standing on a boulder, he explained what he was about to do and exhorted

the men to contrition. The flags were dropped; the men fell on their knees; Father Corby looked heavenward and extended his hand in absolution.

Since liquor is a standard temptation for soldiers, the pledge, so popular a century ago, was often given. Father Dillon, C. S. C., on November 17, 1861, to cite only one case, preached about temperance, and he asked his audience of seven hundred to take the pledge. Evidence of eloquence lies in the fact that all were persuaded, and soon he had a regular temperance society functioning.

After pay day, chaplains played the role of bank messenger by forwarding the soldiers' money to their families in order to keep it from being squandered. Early in 1862, the *Milwaukee Sentinel*[23] noted that Father Hogan, chaplain of the Excelsior Brigade, transmitted $9,000 to soldiers' families, and Father Cooney, C. S. C., returned regularly to Indiana with the money of his men to deposit it or to deliver it to their families.

Occasionally chaplains had difficulties of their own. Father Taladrid, the Spanish chaplain of the First New Mexico infantry, broke the army law by playing *monte* (a Spanish gambling game) and found it hard to extenuate the charge. His superior, Bishop Lamy of Santa Fe, settled a grievance by garnisheeing $136 of the chaplain's salary which he claimed for a chalice, vestment, and other items.[24] Father Lambert of the 18th Illinois infantry was accused by the officers of his regiment of not holding services and of neglecting the sick. The petition for removal elucidates the charge by stating that nine-tenths of the men were Protestants and "holding strong prejudice against all Catholic priests."[25] Such attitudes at times caused great hardships to the soldiers as well as to the chaplains. The New York *Herald,* August 22, 1864, carried a letter concerning a soldier who had died at Fort Schuyler without a priest, although he pleaded for one for five days and an attendant had offered to summon a priest. The injury was

[23]*Milwaukee Sentinel,* February 8, 1862.
[24]Germain, *op. cit.,* 95 ff.
[25]*Ibid.,* 73 ff.

brought to a climax by burying the man from a Protestant church. The *Herald* asked its readers: Is this the time, if at all, to behave so to Irish Catholic soldiers? Waiving a few such incidents, the Catholic chaplains agreed well with their comrades and were in turn regarded as admirable characters.

During the civil war, the Protestants were exceedingly active and their zeal is attested by the avalanche of religious literature which they released upon the army. Their most powerful group was the United States Christian commission, which had been organized in the autumn of 1861. It was an amalgamation of all the Y. M. C. A.'s whose purpose was to provide oral instruction, and to circulate the Bible and religious literature of all descriptions. After 1863 its scope was enlarged to include furnishing special diets, stationery, and other comforts. The funds of the commission, in excess of $6,000,000, were gathered chiefly by women.[26] The Catholics were unable to do the same, but they did make a few feeble attempts to offset the work of the commission.

The *Freeman's Journal,* October 4, 1862, carried a notice that Catholics in many camps felt that no one was interested in their souls. "They say that they want chaplains, and that they have them not. They say that they want books and Catholic reading, and that nothing is offered them except trash from Protestant sources, offensive at once to their faith, their reason, and their good taste." In the next issue a Brooklyn correspondent similarly bewailed the literary destitution of Catholic soldiers at David's Island. The *Wahrheitsfreund* reprinted the notice of October 4, but nothing eventuated. Next spring a letter appeared from Chaplain Fusseder, lamenting the ubiquitous Protestant tracts and pointing out that for lack of literature soldiers read them and are influenced by them.[27] The editor reiterated the chaplain's views and urged his readers to forward their used Catholic periodicals.

---

[26]See *Wahrheitsfreund,* March 8, 1865, February 14, 1866, for Catholic attitude.

[27]The nursing sisters were aware of this and tried to counteract it by distributing in their hospitals whatever literature they could. See *Wahrheitsfreund,* March 18, 1863, April 29, 1863.

The Cincinnati *Telegraph* made a like appeal, but the combined efforts were productive of little. In February, 1864, several priests anonymously suggested that the *Wahrheitsfreund* form a society among its readers to provide Catholic literature. The editor was well disposed and suggested that groups be formed in every parish and that the bishop of each diocese appoint a committee to administer the funds. Offerings in cash and kind began to trickle in, but disappointment soon overtook the editor.

If the Church failed to place adequate literature in the camps, she compensated by sending sisters into the military hospitals to act as nurses. This benefit can be appreciated only upon reflecting that in 1861 there was no Red Cross and that the first trained nurses in the United States graduated long after the war was over.[28] While the nuns were not scientifically trained nurses, they were skilled along those lines. From the standpoint of charity the work of the Catholic sisterhoods stands out even more boldly if it is remembered that they served Catholics and Protestants alike despite the lurid calumnies about convents which were so popular before the war.

Speaking of maligned people recalls the fact that in 1864 Pope Pius IX aided in alleviating the suffering of the soldiers, by contributing $500 for that purpose. The money was sent by Cardinal Barnabo to Bishop Timon of Buffalo, who forwarded it to Mrs. Horatio Seymour, an officer of the United States sanitary commission, with the note that he believed there could be no better means of accomplishing the wish of His Holiness. Thereby Bishop Timon not only endorsed that organization, but he also made manifest the universality of Catholic charity which did not shrink from contributing to an organization whose head was a Protestant minister, the Rev. Henry W. Bellows.[29]

---

[28]Ellen Ryan Jolly, *Nuns of the Battlefield* (Providence, 1930), 4th ed., 21; Linda Richards, *Reminiscences of America's First Trained Nurse* (Boston, 1911); Lavinia Dock and Isabel Stewart, *A Short History of Nursing From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (New York, 1933), 3rd ed.

[29]*The Sanitary Commission Bulletin,* May, 1864, 501; Charles G. Deuther, *The Life and Times of Rt. Rev. John Timon* (1870), 293-4.

Just as Spring Hill college in Alabama[30] and Notre Dame university in Indiana surpassed other schools in providing chaplains for the armies by robbing their faculties, so did some sisterhoods make greater sacrifices than others to furnish nurses in considerable quantity for the armies. While chaplains were tolerably welcome, nursing sisters were in actual demand. Nor did they wait to be coaxed into the service of their country. The war was only a few days old when the Sisters of Mercy volunteered and the Sisters of Charity in the archdiocese of New York at the same early date offered to send from fifty to one hundred sisters to the service of the nation. At first Archbishop Hughes of New York did not think well of the idea, but his viewpoint did not prevail, so by the time the war ended approximately six hundred sisters, mostly of foreign birth, had served the soldiers. These self-sacrificing women represented the Sisters of Charity, Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Sisters of St. Dominic, Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, Sisters of the Holy Cross, Sisters of St. Joseph, Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, Sisters of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, Sisters of Providence, and Sisters of St. Ursula.[31]

The Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul furnished at least two hundred and thirty-one nurses. Twenty-six were active on the battlefield and in the hospitals of Gettysburg. Eighty-seven formed part of the ambulance corps serving on land and on water, twenty-nine attended Lincoln hospital in Washington, and eighty-nine served Satterlee hospital, Philadelphia, where at one time six thousand soldiers received medical attention. Father Peter McGrane was chaplain of that hospital and its baptismal register shows fifty-seven entries, probably the result of seeing the gospel in action.[32]

Because the science of medicine was crude as compared to today the wounded suffered more intensely and convalesced more

---

[30]Michael Kenny, *Catholic Culture in Alabama; Centenary Story of Spring Hill College 1830-1930* (New York, 1931), 209.

[31]The following is taken from Jolly, *op. cit.*

[32]American Catholic History Society, *Records,* VIII, 408.

slowly than those of today. Besides that they were moved over tremendous distances in semi-primitive trains or on river steamers. Governor Yates of Illinois had his soldiers brought up the Mississippi by boat; Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania tried his utmost to have his men returned to his state, and Governor Morton of Indiana equipped hositals in his state for his soldiers. Underlying this was a spirit of provincialism and also a widespread belief that the southern climate was unhealthy. Regardless of the motives, moving the wounded was not only hard on the victims of the battles but it also complicated the task of caring for them.

In 1861 a message from the governor of Indiana was delivered to Father Sorin, the president of Notre Dame university. It was a request for twelve sisters of the Holy Cross. Six left at once for the hospital at Paducah, and more followed until over sixty-three were in service. One of their large hospitals was at Mound City, Illinois, staffed with twenty-eight sisters. The hospital, consisting of some twenty-four unfinished warehouses, housed as high as two thousand patients, and in 1862 it was reported that over two hundred soldiers had been baptized there before death, owing to the work of the nuns.[33]

During the civil war relief work resulted from local enthusiasm and activity and not from federal appropriations. Even the United States sanitary commission was weak and at first the army officials remained aloof fearing that it would interfere with military efficiency. The governors of states naturally showed considerable interest in the soldiers from their states to increase their popularity and thereby to stay in office. Morton who ruled Indiana with a strong hand owing to the sharp differences of opinion in Indiana did a good deal for his soldiers and his appeal to the sisters was just another manifestation of his political acumen. It was the same reason that prompted Governers Kirkwood of Iowa and Curtin of Pennsylvania to correspond with their men on a large scale to win their confidence and indirectly to win the votes of their relatives and friends. Governor Harvey of Wisconsin paid a visit to his troops in the deep south, and missing

[33] *Wahrheitsfreund,* May 14, 1862.

his step one day he was swept to his death in the Tennessee river. In 1861 the governor of Iowa appointed a relief committee, and, in view of the fact that two bishops were included, it is likely that one of them was Bishop Smyth of Dubuque. This group was to administer the contributions of Iowans, and Mrs. Wittenmyer was sent to the camps as state agent. She had long been a busybody and it was not long before she came into conflict with Father Emonds of Iowa City. The latter also had visited the camps and he charged the agent with trying to sell butter and eggs to the Sisters of Charity who were caring for the soldiers. The penalty for not purchasing was no supplies for the patients. This report produced new hostilities on the home front and indicates what must have happened in many places where relief work elicited all sorts of suspicions and controversies.

The Sisters of Charity were active in New York and in the environs of Louisville and Paducah. Bishop Spalding wrote to Archbishop Purcell that he had entered into an agreement with General Robert Anderson concerning the work of the Sisters of Charity on September 24, 1861. It embraced three points, namely, that the sisters would work under the direction of the army surgeons without any intermediate authority, everything necessary for their work would be furnished, and, thirdly, all facilities were to be provided for the performance of their religious duties.[34] Archbishop Purcell deputed nuns of the same order to hospital work, and they proved their mettle at Camp Dennison, near Cincinnati, and on floating hospitals. The *Telegraph,* June 8, 1861, appealing for a horse and wagon and sundry items, declared:

> There are now seven Sisters of Charity engaged in the care of the sick at Camp Dennison. The visit to the different hospitals is equal to a journey of two or three miles. There are about 12,000 men in the encampment. The sisters have to walk in mud and water over their shoe tops in heavy rains.

Forty Dominican nuns were active at Perryville, Nashville,

[34]Spalding to Purcell, MS. October 29, 1861. In another letter of April 14, 1862, he remarked that the sisters then had four hospitals.

and Memphis. Then, too, the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis conducted three military hospitals in Cincinnati, one in Columbus and one in Covington, in addition to an orphanage for soldiers' children. The Philadelphia Sisters of St. Joseph were active at Camp Curtin, Harrisburg, and they also conducted a hospital in a Methodist church at the same place. Nuns of this same sisterhood at Wheeling likewise gave the services of ten sisters to the nation.

The Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, Charleston, had charge of Ropen Military Hospital and its affiliated tent hospitals. Between thirty and thirty-five were on duty. On the other extremity of the south, at Galveston, the Ursulines nursed the sick in their own buildings. With similar zeal members of six communities of the Sisters of Mercy served in various hospitals. All told eighty-eight of them saw service on land and on water after having left their convents in such scattered cities as Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, New York, Pittsburgh, and Vicksburg.

Numerous florid eulogies could be quoted pertaining to the work of the nuns. Countless captivating incidents could be cited. But it would be futile for the labor of love eludes description. The same holds true for the chaplains, the dispensers of divine grace to those who gave the last full measure of devotion to their respective governments.[35]

* * * *

Following is a list of the chaplains who served in both armies. The names of some priests who are sometimes referred to as chaplains are missing. This list is taken from A. Germain, *Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains 1776-1917* (Washington, 1929).[36]

---

[35]In the Spanish-American war 282 sisters gave their services. Five of them died. The different communities were represented as follows:

Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg	189
Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary	21
Sisters of Saint Joseph	20
Sisters of Mercy	17
Sisters of the Holy Cross	12
Sisters of St. Francis (Philadelphia)	11
Sisters of Charity of Nazareth	8
Congregation of American Sisters	4

[36]The differences come from not distinguishing official from unofficial

Chaplains in the Union Army

Revs. Thomas Brady
Thaddeus Butler
Joseph Carrier, C. S. C.
Richard Christy
Peter Cooney, C. S. C.
William Corby, C. S. C.
Edward Corcoran
James Dillon, C. S. C.
George Doane
Costney Egan, O. P.
Francis Fusseder
Alexander Geselachowski
Paul Gillen, C. S. C.
James Gombettelli
John Ireland
Thomas Kelly
Louis Lambert
Charles Lemagie
Michael Martin
Francis McAtee
Revs. Bernard McCollum
John McCosker
Edward McKee
Lawrence McMahon
Gustavus Miettinger
Napoleon Mignault
Thomas Mooney
Daniel Mullen
Patrick Murphy
Michael Nash, S. J.
Edward O'Brien
Nicholas O'Brien
Joseph O'Hagan, S. J.
William O'Higgins
Thomas Quinn
Leo Rizzo
Thomas Scully
Damaso Taladrid
Peter Tissot, S. J.
Thomas Willett, S. J.
(also spelled Ouellett)

---

chaplains. For example, Arthur Hope, in *Notre Dame One Hundred Years* (Notre Dame, 1943), 132, mentions the Rev. Julian Bourget who at Sorin's request went to the hospital at Mound City where he soon died from malaria. He also mentions Rev. Zephirin Leveque who died in Jersey City on February 13, 1862. Germain, *op. cit.*, 144, explains that Father Kilroy, C. S. C., was not a chaplain although Governor Morton of Indiana delegated him to transmit the money of the soldiers to their families.

Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), II, 154, lists some not found above, such as Father Truyens who accompanied union troops in Kentucky.

The following were appointed to permanent hospitals by the president of the United States:

Revs. Francis Boyle
James Bruehl
C. L. Egan
Patrick Maloy
P. F. McCarthy
Edward McGlynn
Peter McGrane
Revs. M. F. McGrath
J. P. Ryan
Joseph Stephan
John Vahey
Bernadin Wiget
Thomas Willet

Chaplains in the Confederate Army

Revs. John Bannon
Samuel Barber, S. J.
Emmeran Bliemel, O. S. B.
Henry Brown
Anthony Carius
Patrick Coyle
C. J. Croghan
James Cunningham
Francis de Chaignon, S. J.
P. F. Dichary
Hippolite Gache, S. J.
Darius Hubert S. J.
Joseph Jarboe, O. P.
William Jordan
Revs. Francis Le Ray
D. Manucy
William Meredith
John Mouton
Lawrence O'Connell
M. O'Keefe
Thomas O'Riely
Anthony Pellicier
Francis Pont
Joseph Prachensky, S. J.
Patrick Ryan
Egidius Schmulders
James Sheeran, C. Ss. R.
Peter Whelan[37]

[37]The status of Rev. Abram Ryan, the poet-priest is doubtful. It seems that Father Hamilton and Father Usannaz, S. J., both of whom visited Andersonville, were not official chaplains.

IX

WISCONSIN CATHOLICS

Many elements went into the seething cauldron which is conveniently labeled the "Civil War." The preceding essays have shown that America's religious leaders furnished more than their share of ingredients; this essay will sketch the minor role which Catholics in a frontier state played during the war.

Back in 1843, five years before Wisconsin achieved statehood, the Catholics of Wisconsin received their first bishop in the person of John Martin Henni, who took up his residence in Milwaukee. Not until after the civil war had ended were two new dioceses created with their headquarters at Green Bay and La Crosse. From the foundation of the diocese of Milwaukee to the outbreak of the civil war the Catholic population of Wisconsin had grown from 20,000 to 200,000, thereby making that remote diocese one of the strongest in the nation. Accordingly, Catholics constituted one-fourth of the entire population which was roughly 800,000 in 1861.

In January, 1861, the state of Wisconsin took a determined stand for the union. Alexander Randall was an enthusiastic war governor who had shown his colors long before the conflict, even though he had won his office by the slim majority of 4,000 votes. Considering that political power had not as yet been centralized in Washington, the role of governor assumed increased importance, but apparently the Catholics who were governed by Randall shared little of his enthusiasm. Randall, however, soon had the rare opportunity of giving Pope Pius IX a spirited lecture in person on the merits of the northern cause, for he was named minister of the United States to Rome. Although Randall was appointed on August 6, 1861, he did not see the banks of the Tiber until May 21, 1862. On June 6,[1] he presented his credentials

[1]The date is not lacking in importance. On June 8, the Holy Father canonized twenty-six Japanese martyrs who had been crucified in 1597. To

to the Holy Father, and, in reviewing his audience for William Seward, the secretary of state, he said:

> I alluded to the course of a majority of the bishops and priests of the Roman church, in the United States, for the purpose of drawing from the Holy Father, himself, an expression of the duty of the citizens, living under a government, and protected by its laws, to support that government, and contribute to its stability; believing that an authoritative expression of the kind, might be advantageous, at home, in the way of improving the patriotic ardor of some of our foreign born citizens.[2]

Randall soon came to the conclusion that he was not fitted for his post, so, after a stay of less than three months, the ex-governor of Wisconsin returned to the United States to become assistant postmaster general. At the end of 1863 Rufus King, who had been the editor of the *Milwaukee Sentinel,* arrived in Rome to fill the office which he had declined two years before. King remained at the Vatican several years after the war was over, and, accordingly, he had to handle the extradition of John Surratt, the American refugee in the papal state, who was wanted for complicity in the assassination of Lincoln.

The church in Wisconsin, as everywhere else, had grown strong owing to immigration from Ireland and from the Catholic regions of Germany. The Irish generally remained in the cities of the east, but the German Catholics preferred to go inland and settle unobtrusively in the backwoods where their Americanization was retarded owing to their isolation and their use of a foreign tongue. The German forty-eighters differed greatly from the German Catholics; the former because of their education and inclination to make political propaganda rapidly found their way into the limelight and into the republican and abolitionist camp, while the latter were inclined toward the democratic party if they took any interest at all in politics. Historians underestimate the con-

---

make the event impressive he had urged as many bishops as possible to be present in Rome. Many American bishops were there and naturally they discussed among themselves and with foreign bishops the state of affairs in the United States and the course which the Church should follow.

[2]*United States Ministers to the Papal States Instructions and Despatches, 1848-1868,* ed. by Leo Stock (Washington, 1933), 247. Randall may have been thinking of the readers of the democratic *Seebote.*

tribution which the German Catholics made to America precisely because they shunned publicity. A perusal of the *Wahrheitsfreund,* the Catholics' representative German paper, shows that the reporting of events was thorough, but it also reveals that the war was not regarded as a religious crusade. "We, too, want abolition," said the editor, "but not by way of disregarding established rights." Another light falls on the German Catholic situation by mentioning that Father Francis Weninger, S. J.,[3] a prominent itinerant preacher in all German communities from Boston to Austin, was an out-and-out union man even though he rarely discussed politics. A man of his wide fame simultaneously reflected and created the attitude of his co-religionists.

Quite naturally, a man like Father Weninger cannot escape controversy. Some of it began in Wisconsin. A certain Father Benedict Smedding of Chippewa Falls published a monthly paper for the clergy, called *Romana.* This seems to have been printed in Baltimore and it did not enjoy a good reputation in ecclesiastical circles. Apparently in 1864 the *Romana* quoted the *Seebote* of Milwaukee to the effect that the clergy was meddling in politics and that Weninger was promoting Lincoln's election in connection with his parish missions.[4] Weninger retorted promptly that he

---

[3]Father Weninger was born in Austria in 1805 to prominent parents. He came to America in 1848 and became famous as a preacher to German congregations. He was a prolific writer. By 1879 it was estimated that he had delivered 30,000 sermons. He died in Cincinnati in 1888. No man did more to impress upon the Germans that there was a close link between religion and language and accordingly he stimulated much German activity.

[4]*Sion,* Augsburg, December 7, 1864. *Seebote,* August 15, 1864, carried a long story about the military imprisonment of Bishop Elder of Natchez and ended by denouncing Archbishop Purcell and Bishop Rosecrans for abetting radicalism. The writer said he had almost used the word "Arian" for American bishops. He added that it was perhaps the function of the "government bishops" to prepare the way for an Athanasius. If Cologne had not had a Spiegel, the world might not have heard of a Clement August. The paper berated Weninger as a traveler for "Lincoln and company." The missionary was reported to be making abolition propaganda and to have said Lincoln was too magnanimous. Had the missionary been president, the report said, the editors of the *Seebote* and the *Freeman's Journal* would long have been in jail.

Data on Smedding is scarce. He was born in Westphalia in 1820, came

had only advised his hearers to be loyal and to beware of fanatical newspapers. As for Catholic papers, he regretted that they had not remained uniformly conciliatory because when the war broke out all Americans knew that the Catholics were innocent of having started it. The conflict between Weninger and the *Romana* was not an obscure encounter; on the contrary, it found its way into the columns of the *Sion* which was published in Augsburg.

In American literature Weninger's name is rarely mentioned in connection with the war, but the reports on his missions which came from his pen enjoyed a wide circulation abroad. For example, the *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol,* October 20, 1862, carried a long comment on the war written by Weninger. He explained that slavery was the root of the war, and that every intelligent reader would know that in a republic which boasted about freedom, slavery could not last. Seward, in his opinion, was not wrong when he spoke of "the irrepressible conflict" even though many conservatives like Archbishop Hughes believed that the former condition of the country could be maintained if both sides adhered meticulously to the constitution, which the abolitionists did not want to do. Next the preacher asked: Who is right and what has the Church to gain or lose in the outcome? He answered: The south is wrong even though it might be better for the Church if the south would win. The south is wrong because it presupposes that every state has the right to leave the union when it pleases. This is absurd in itself. Moreover, treaties were always made by the national government, and when a person becomes a citizen he swears loyalty not to a state but to the United States.

Going on to speak of the south, Weninger maintained that the true southerners see no moral evil in slavery because the Negroes are born into slavery and are never fit to take care of themselves. In addition to the cruelty of selling husband and wife and children to different buyers some masters of loose morals sell their own illegitimate children who are born to slaves because

---

to America in 1854, and worked in the Milwaukee archdiocese until his death in 1881. His paper *Romana* was mentioned by Archbishop Spalding in a letter to Archbishop Purcell, October 9, 1864, in an unapproving manner.

the status of the child follows that of the mother. Admitting that the slaves were usually well cared for because they represented sizeable capital investments, he added that bodily care cannot justify moral injustice. Weninger devoted considerable space to describing how the slaves were driven through cities like droves of animals, and, in depicting the sale of slaves, he employed a specifically Catholic tone.

It may be even that a Catholic Negro received Holy Communion in the morning. Then the slave dealer comes and pulls his mouth open to inspect his teeth. He puts him on a bench to feel his bones and he has him run and jump to test his muscles. That is the way one Christian treats another Christian who the same day received the bread of angels and was fed with the flesh and blood of Christ.[5]

Besides that, in Weninger's opinion, the south had acted disgracefully by protesting only after the election of Lincoln. Such conduct resembles a player who when he loses in a game sulks and says that the play did not count. More than that, the south not only attacked government property, but it also insulted the flag. Small wonder, then, that serious hostilities followed.

In so far as the Church was concerned, Weninger claimed that the south was more friendly and more tolerant while the leaders in the north belonged to the traditional haters of Catholics: The Puritans, the know-nothings, and the forty-eighters. Their slogan is "No slavery, no popery,"[6] and this is not hushed while many Catholics are laying down their lives for their fatherland. Nevertheless, Weninger wanted to see the union win because it was in the right, and, as for the Church, he did not worry because that rests on divine promises.

A year later he repeated his indictment against the Puritans and forty-eighters who constituted the bulk of the republican party, adding that the Catholics love the union fully as much and even more than the republicans and they dislike slavery just

[5]*Katholische Blätter aus Tirol,* October 20, 1862, 677-678.

[6]*Seebote,* October 5, 1864, gave the slogan of the abolitionists as "Down with the Catholics, Jews, and Immigrants."

as much. Because they see the anti-Christian tendencies in the leaders, many Catholics seem to sympathize with the south, while others wish that peace had not been disturbed. As for himself, Weninger was convinced that the north was in the right. He blushed on account of the company he was in because of that statement but he consoled himself with the reflection that just because a person agrees with the north does not make him a member of the republican party.

In the middle of 1864 Father Weninger discussed the draft and the divisions of the political parties and added an illuminating remark about the Germans in America.[7] These, he said, reject as thoroughly as republicans the right of secession and the right to slaves but they think: "I did not leave Germany to be shot for the Negroes. Let me alone." This attitude, in spite of all the differences of opinion, suggests to them to vote for the peace candidates.

Although Weninger was not a resident of Wisconsin, he knew the state and its inhabitants very well. He said Wisconsin was a second Germany, and since it was almost the largest diocese in the country, the views of Weninger are a workable index to the opinions of the German Catholic element in America.[8]

At the time of the war there were slightly more than two-score Catholic bishops in the United States. Most of them were Irish. Wisconsin's Bishop Henni, a native of Switzerland, had been a warm friend of the Germans all his life, and he probably did not share fully the sentiments of his confrères, Archbishop Purcell

[7] *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol,* May 10, 1864, speaks of the difficulty of getting substitutes. *Seebote,* October 8, 1864, quoted the sermon of Father J. S. Hennessey, of St. Patrick's church, Detroit, who had been drafted. To him the draft was worse than the cholera and the tortures of medieval times, and he denounced still more bitterly the indiscriminate drafting of clergymen.

[8] After the war was over Weninger was attacked for being unpatriotic by Richard Thompson, whom President Hayes had appointed secretary of the navy. Thompson had been involved in many affairs that were not laudable and his pen produced *The Papacy and the Civil Power* (1876) and *The Footprints of the Jesuits* (1894). Weninger defended himself in a pamphlet in which he quoted from his war-time writings. See *Reply to Hon. R. W. Thompson, Secretary of the Navy* (New York, 1877).

of Cincinnati and Archbishop Hughes of New York, who supported the north ardently. That they had different stakes in the war can be seen in Purcell's remark:

> It has greatly pained us to hear that certain rash, irreverent, and thoughtless men of our community have denounced and cursed the government, the administration, and their abettors. . . . Did they not reflect that its downfall would be hailed with acclamation by our hereditary oppressors across the ocean? Did they not reflect that, if political salvation is ever to reach a far distant and beloved island, it must come to it from these United States which they would sever?[9]

Without digressing into Henni's opinion of foreign affairs, it may be said that when Purcell hoisted the stars and stripes on his cathedral as soon as the war broke out, Bishop Henni did the same in Milwaukee on April 25, 1861. The comment of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* was that the bishop, like all other good Catholics, was a union man and that this was but one of the many exhibitions of his patriotism.[10] Incidentally, the *Sentinel* frequently publicized the pro-union activities of Catholics in different parts of the north with a view to stimulating patriotism among Wisconsin Catholics and to offset the influence of the democratic *Seebote* which was also published in Milwaukee. The latter had been founded in 1851 for German-speaking Catholics although it never was officially a Catholic paper. In 1852 Father Heiss, later archbishop of Milwaukee, was elected president of the stockholders, and Father Salzmann had traveled on behalf of the paper, but eventually it became the property of Mr. Peter V. Deuster, a Catholic and a politician. During the war the *Seebote* was violently democratic, friendly to Vallandingham, and bitterly critical of Lincoln, and of papers like the Catholic *Telegraph* which was in good standing with the *Sentinel*.[11]

---

[9]Richard Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops,* III (New York, 1888), 214-216.

[10]*Sentinel,* April 26, 1861.

[11]*Seebote,* August 15, September 14, 1864. The issue of May 15, 1863, compared Vallandingham in jail to the martyrs and apostles who also were imprisoned. His only crime was that he fought for the liberty which Washington and Jefferson gave Americans.

While the flag fluttered high above the shoreline of Lake Michigan in Milwaukee, Madisonians read the following declaration from Father John Norris, the pastor of St. Raphael's church:

> I have just heard that a report is in circulation in this city that Bishop Henni, of Milwaukee, wrote me a letter, ordering me to discourage all members of my congregation from enlisting in the service of our country.
>
> I hereby most positively assert that no such document has been received by me, and, furthermore, from my intimate knowledge of the feelings of the bishop, that there breathes not amongst us a truer patriot.[12]

In Racine a political rally was held on April 22, 1861, and a parade made its way from the courthouse to St. Mary's church where a beautiful flag was unfurled. On the occasion United States Senator Doolittle declared: "There on that temple stand the cross of the Redeemer and the flag of the union. We ought to be true to both and acclaim them unto death." Father Sailer, the pastor, also participated in the festivities, and soon word got around not only in Racine but in Chicago as well that Bishop Henni had ordered all churches of his diocese to fly the American flag.[13]

The last bit of data pertaining to the bishop's attitude is the *Sentinel's* report of the funeral services for Captain Moses O'Brien of the Third Wisconsin who had fallen in the battle of Cedar Mountain in August, 1862. The bishop, who had just recently returned from Rome where he had attended the canonization of the Japanese martyrs, preached the sermon, in the course of which he referred to the rebellion and urged his hearers to support the government by enlisting.[14]

In so far as Bishop Henni's 120 priests were concerned, nearly all of them were pioneering in the woods where only the dull thud of the sharp axe disturbed the peace. Places like Madison,

---

[12]Madison *Daily Argus and Democrat,* April 24, 1861.

[13]*Racine Volksfreund,* April 25, 1861; *Chicago Tribune,* April 26, 1861.

[14]*Sentinel,* September 2, 1862. Henni had left New York with Father Francis Etschmann on May 3. He returned to Milwaukee on August 14, 1862.

Green Bay, Oshkosh, and Watertown could boast only two Catholic churches while Racine was prosperous enough to have three. Out in the hamlet of Slinger a priest from Bavaria, Father Michael Deisenrieder, surpassed his urban confrères in solicitude for the soldiers. Knowing how actively Protestant literature was being distributed in the camps, he suggested in the columns of the *Wahrheitsfreund* that a society be formed to provide Catholic literature as an antidote. Although his plea produced some action, the society which had its inception in Slinger came to naught.[15]

In the beginning of the war, Louis Harvey, secretary of state for Wisconsin, asked Bishop Henni to permit Father George T. Riordan, of Kenosha, to be chaplain of the Seventeenth Wisconsin infantry because Colonel John Doran and his men wanted him.[16] The bishop agreed to release him for army work, but for unknown reasons Father Riordan never became an official chaplain. When the news of his supposed appointment spread the *Milwaukee Sentinel* commented: "In thus conforming to the popular wish, the bishop gives an impetus to the cause and considerably facilitates the organization." In the several states there were many organizations of Irish-American soldiers, and, since this regiment represented the Irish of Wisconsin, it is easy to understand why the soldiers wanted an Irish priest. Moreover, Father Riordan was well known throughout the state as an orator on controversial

---

[15]*Wahrheitsfreund*, February 3, 17, 1864; June 6, 13, 1864. Father Deisenrieder was probably the spokesman for several Wisconsin priests. At the time of the civil war Slinger did not have a resident pastor, but Father Deisenrieder attended the parish and the newspaper items were marked Schleisingerville, the old name for Slinger. Father Deisenrieder had been born in Bavaria in 1814; he was ordained in 1837; he came to Wisconsin in 1852 and labored there till his death in Farmersville, Dodge county, in 1880.

[16]Doran was born in Ireland in 1814. In 1844 he came to the United States and in 1847 was elected city attorney of Milwaukee. In 1851 he was elected to the state assembly. When his regiment was mustered in on March 15, 1862, it numbered 941 men. Upon being ordered to the front, the regiment mutinied because it had not been paid. The regiment was assuaged, and it fought valiantly at the battle of Shiloh.

subjects, and, therefore, he was desirable for his leadership.[17]

Regardless of Riordan's talents, the Irish regiment had to content itself with a French priest, Father Napoleon V. Mignault. Like Riordan, he too had left Massachusetts to work in Wisconsin at Hudson, Chippewa Falls, and Duck Creek. As early as November 18, 1861, he showed his interest in the Irish by giving a lecture in Cole's Hall, Watertown, on "Irishmen at Home and in America." In the course of the talk he contrasted the condition of the people in Ireland with the liberties of Irishmen in America. After emphasizing the evils of British rule abroad, he exhorted his hearers to do their duty as the Germans, French, and Norwegians were doing — to support the constitution against the traitors who were trying to dismember a republic that had brought to all nothing but blessings, prosperity, and honor.[18] A few weeks after delivering that fiery speech, to be exact, on December 11, 1861, he was commissioned for the Seventeenth Wisconsin, and he remained in the army until February 9, 1864. Since both soldiers and clergymen frequently served only short terms in the army, the record of Father Mignault was better than the average. After the war was over, he left Wisconsin and spent several years in Titusville, Pennsylvania, but when and where he died remain mysteries.

---

[17]Father Riordan was born near Queenstown, Ireland. He studied at Maynooth, St. Sulpice in Paris, and finished at St. Mary's in Baltimore. In 1845 he was appointed the first pastor of Springfield, Massachusetts; in 1848 he was in Cambridge, Massachusetts; in 1853 he was stationed at the cathedral in Boston; in 1856 he was at the cathedral in Milwaukee; later he was pastor of St. Raphael's, Madison; and during the war he was in Kenosha. He died at Oshkosh in June, 1868. See *Sentinel* February 3, 1859, February 13, 1860, October 30, 1861, November 5, 1861, June 18, 1868; Peter Leo Johnson, *Stuffed Saddlebags: The Life of Martin Kundig Priest, 1805-1879* (Milwaukee, 1942), 209; William Love, *Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion* (Chicago, 1866); 494, says that Riordan was the first chaplain and that he resigned on November 30, 1861.

The Kenosha Times, November 14, 1861, reported the selection of Riordan. The bishop was reported to have said that the soldiers should have what they desired no matter how inconvenient it would be to lose his services. The paper also printed a brief eulogy on Father Riordan.

[18]*Watertown Democrat*, November 21, 1861.

drafted men in this section to volunteer in a regiment where the chaplain speaks their language and is of the same religious belief of the great majority of those who are drafted."[20]

The Catholic soldiers of Wisconsin were assuredly no different from those of other states. At least one laconic tribute to the generosity of the Seventeenth Regiment is found in the announcement book of the cathedral of Natchez, Mississippi, under date of August 16, 1863. It reads: "We have to thank the soldiers of the Seventeenth Regiment of Wisconsin for a collection for the orphans taken up in their camp, amounting to $223.65." The beneficiaries were the waifs of St. Mary's orphanage, Natchez. Without detracting from the glory of Wisconsin's troops, it may be added that collections for good causes were taken up surprisingly often in the camps, and it is safe to guess that collections were also fairly frequent at home even if almost no records remain to tell the story. The annals of St. Joseph's parish, Appleton, mention a collection taken up in June, 1865, under the regime of Father Louis Dael. That collection netted $45.15 for Wisconsin's Soldiers' Home. There must have been other contributions from parishes in thriving communities like Milwaukee, but the records are lacking.[21]

So ends the brief story of the role played by Wisconsin Catholics in the war between the states. If their aloofness has deprived them of glamour, they have enjoyed the related benefit of being spared criticism for having preached a crusade in which logic often yielded to emotions.[22]

---

[20]*Sentinel,* December 19, 1862; *Green Bay Advocate,* December 17, 1862. At the time the regiment needed 400 more men. Peter Leo Johnson, "Port Washington Draft Riot of 1862," *Mid-America,* January, 1930, XII, 212-223.

[21]Theodore Roemer, *Saint Joseph in Appleton: The History of a Parish* (Appleton, 1943), 15.

[22]The Fenian movement for the liberation of Ireland was surprisingly popular in Wisconsin. Meetings were held in Milwaukee in October, 1863, to elect delegates to the Chicago convention; in December, 1864, the pastor of Beloit, probably Father Herman, tried to discourage his people from attending a Fenian meeting in that community by visiting the hall in person. Branches of the brotherhood existed in Baraboo, Beaver Dam, Watertown, and Stevens Point. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* carried a number of Fenian

news items, and the *Seebote* adequately reported the attacks on Canada which were made in June, 1866. That month 150 men left Milwaukee for the scene of action, and Fond du Lac contributed 64 additional volunteers. The *Seebote,* June 6, 1866, praised the Irish ladies for their efforts to serve the soldiers and for having sold their jewels to provide them with equipment. Speaking of Irish enthusiasm for the home land the editor commented: Would to God the Germans had some of it. On June 13 the *Seebote* disagreed with those who were extremely hostile to the Fenians, it praised the Irish patriotism which was surpassed only by a hatred of England, and it observed how much more generous the Irish were than the Germans. The next issue, however, emphasized that the Fenian question was purely Irish and not American. The Irish must obey the laws and cannot expect the government to interfere in foreign questions any more than other groups can expect such assistance.

Three Wisconsinites, Bartholomew O'Neill, D. P. Carmody, and Jeremiah Quinn, attended the Chicago convention.

At the time of the second convention Wisconsin had ten circles at Horicon, La Crosse, Oshkosh, Milwaukee, Prairie du Chien, Fond du Lac, Janesville, Madison, Racine, and Green Bay.

X

MOURNING WITH THE NATION

The assassination of Abraham Lincoln on Good Friday, 1865, introduced him into the ranks of great. Any man who averts the dissolution of a great nation deserves such honor, but some of the honor that came to Lincoln was due to the fact that his life ended exactly at the moment of victory and before there was time for disillusions to arise from his program of reconstruction. Had Lincoln died a natural death less fame would have been heaped upon him. Being killed helped the Lincoln legend immeasureably because none could condone the murder of the chief executive. The universality of Lincoln's fame today has obscured the fact that he was by no means unanimously elected to the highest office of the land either in 1860 or in 1864. In the first election he captured forty per cent of the votes cast, and in the next election, when the southerners did not vote, he received fifty-five per cent of the votes. Many in the north disagreed with him, and, obviously, southerners saw nothing noble in the candidate of black republicanism. Catholics lived in both regions and freely formed their opinions according to their location. In general they did not think well of the new party, and Orestes Brownson, whose independent political views often irked his fellow Catholics, when hearing of the nomination of Lincoln, chided the party for being "short-sighted," although later he conceded that Lincoln was a man of common sense, loyal, and intellectually better than was commonly believed.[1]

Le Propagateur Catholique of New Orleans lost no opportunity to berate the chief executive, and it advised the south to prepare for war before the inauguration because Lincoln would use force. His first inaugural address was characterized as a "masterpiece of astuteness and hypocrisy filled with contradictions, threats, and

[1]Brownson, *Works,* XVII, 104, 361; XVIII, 520.

promises."[2] Lincoln stands for war, and, if he does not force the south, it will only be because he cannot. The issue of June 15, 1861, declared that "the constitution supposes the sovereignty of the states and leaves their rights intact." The south opposes Lincoln because he was chosen to destroy its institutions and to reverse the constitution. In opposing his tyrannical power the south is rebellious as Washington was once rebellious. "We will see to it that despotism cannot take root in the soil of liberty."

The Saturday before the election of 1860 the *Freeman's Journal* carried an editorial, "The Crisis On Us," stating that the election of Lincoln could hardly fail to plunge the country into civil war. This paper went on to declare that the preservation of the constitution and union was worthy of a ten-year war if a favorable outcome were assured, but why precipitate an acute crisis by electing Lincoln? True to his conviction, the editor, James McMaster, discussed the burning topic of the day almost weekly from election week to the end of the year.

Ardent democrat and fearless editor that he was, McMaster violated all proprieties when Lincoln sought a second term. At this his wrath knew no bounds. On one occasion he wrote:

It is assumed that Lincoln is altogether an imbecile. It is a great mistake. He is an uneducated boor. He is brutal in all his habits and in all his ways. He is filthy. He is obscene. He is vicious, unless it be true that he has such lack of human qualities, as to be equally incapable of virtue and vice.

But after Lincoln had been murdered, the same vitriolic pen wrote:

A fearful and ill-omened crime has been perpetrated. President Lincoln has lost his life at the hand of a private assassin. There is no argument to be held in regard to the deed. . . . It was an act of frenzied madness.

At the same time, however, McMaster did not forget to envenom the discussion by commenting that the only possible beneficiaries were the fanatical Puritans who were insisting that the south be severely punished.

The Catholic *Mirror,* representing the dioceses of Baltimore,

[2]*Propagateur Catholique,* March 6, 1861.

Richmond, and Wheeling, was less impassioned than the *Freeman's Journal*. Its pre-election editorial "Our Union," advised northerners to be philanthropic at home but not to meddle in the south. The *Mirror* was not gravely worried about Lincoln's possible election because a war would damage both sides, and any president would rather save than destroy. However it gave this advice to its readers:

We think that all Americans who are true to their whole country should oppose the election of Lincoln, because the policy of his party is dangerous to the union; but notwithstanding the fears of many leading citizens, we believe that if Lincoln should be elected, before his term expires, there would be, not dissolution, but a combination of the conservative elements in all quarters, such as would make the union stronger and safer than ever before.

Two weeks later, the paper reported that Lincoln's election had evoked hostility in the south. For the first time, a White House incumbent is inimical to southern interests. His election is a triumph for sentimentalism, but only time can determine whether his administration will be detrimental to the south. The supreme court backs the rights of all, and the party of Lincoln is not sufficiently strong to do much damage. The issue of December 1, 1860, observed that the republican party was divided into two camps; one comprising abolitionists, the other merely opposing the extension of slavery. Lincoln was wily enough to get the votes of both factions, but he needs solidarity if he is to undertake anything drastic.

In announcing the murder of Lincoln, the *Mirror* characterized it as "the direst of calamities" and "the basest of political sacrileges."

The president of the United States has fallen a victim to the ruthless assassin. In every sense of the word the event is a great national calamity. The deliberate malice of the deed, the fell audacity with which it was done, the outrage it inflicts on the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together, are scarcely paralleled in atrocity by any other similar crime recorded in history.[3]

[3] *Mirror, passim.*

The editor declared that Lincoln had shown the spirit of a true statesman, and everyone was expecting much from him who was wisely unravelling the riddle of the country's future.

The Pittsburgh *Catholic* which had been friendly to republican rule lamented the death of Lincoln and asked its readers to pray for the nation. The editor observed appropriately that the generous terms which Lincoln had offered to the rebels had inspired everyone with the hope of peace, prosperity, and conciliation.[4]

In neighboring Ohio the *Telegraph* reflected that Lincoln had exposed himself too carelessly to the blow of the murderer. When Davis, Lee, and others started the war they inaugurated every sort of murder and they must take the blame. Editorially the paper declared:

> No man ever lived who had a stronger hold upon the affections of the people than Abraham Lincoln. His character for honesty, simplicity, and kindness of disposition, added to his quaint sense of the humorous, with his many homely ways of illustrating his duties, made him loved by all classes. . . . It is strange to remember that the only man who could and would have pardoned these rebels is the man the rebels have murdered.[5]

On the other hand, the paper did not shrink from criticizing Lincoln's presence in a theater on Good Friday. The *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* quoted the *Telegraph* as follows:

> We wish for the honor of Christianity and Mr. Lincoln's fame that he had not been in the theater on Good Friday evening. That day, above all others, should have been religiously observed, particularly by our rulers; but we suppose the late president went there to gratify the public.[6]

Way up north in Boston, the headquarters of Puritanism, the *Pilot* told its readers, who were mostly of Irish ancestry, that conscientiousness and exalted motives had governed all his public

---

[4]*Catholic,* April 22, 1865.

[5]*Telegraph,* April 19, 1865.

[6]*Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* April 21, 1865. Bishop Rosecrans lamented the death of the president saying that not to mourn would be stolid — not to reprobate the crime would be savage.

actions. Assuredly, the nation would live on, but it was a pity that Lincoln could not live to see peace shine upon a regenerated people. At the moment:

> All party feelings are hushed in solemn silence before this great bereavement, and the people, one and all, bow their heads in sadness and in gloom for the illustrious dead.[7]

More important than the comments of the Catholic press were the oral statements of bishops and priests in their churches. Hardly ever is a record kept of sermons, but some contemporary evidence of clerical opinion has escaped the destroying hand of time.

The day after the assassination, Archbishop McCloskey of New York, the mild successor of Archbishop Hughes, issued a letter ordering prayers, and on Easter Sunday he personally exhorted his people to demonstrate their loyalty to the nation. Special services were prescribed for the morning of the nineteenth, the day of the funeral in Washington. In the Mass, the oration *Pro Quacumque Tribulatione* was added, and after Mass the *Miserere* was recited.[8]

Bishop Timon of Buffalo sent out a letter to his diocese directing that services be held on the twentieth at 10:00 A. M. The Mass *Pro Remissione Peccatorum* was to be used in order to avert God's punishment from the nation. In reference to the late president, the bishop wrote:

> Under his administration, the victory over the greatest of rebellions had almost been consummated; and the blessed mercy with which he seemed disposed to meet the return of offenders to the union, promised a reconstruction holy, noble, and permanent. God will reward him, for He said, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."[9]

Bishop Loughlin of Brooklyn directed that all churches under his jurisdiction remain open until noon of the nineteenth. De-

---

[7]Quoted in *Telegraph,* April 26, 1865.

[8]*New York Daily Tribune,* April 18, 1865; *Freeman's Journal,* April 22, 1865.

[9]*New York Daily Tribune,* April 20, 1865.

ploring the sad event, he reminded his people that it was their duty at all times to be interested in the nation's welfare and particularly at this crucial moment was it their obligation to humble themselves and beseech the Almighty Ruler of nations to bless the country with peace, prosperity, and happiness.[10]

When President Johnson designated June 1 as a day of prayer, Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore, in whose diocese the crime had been committed, called on the clergy to enter the spirit of the day by stating that:

> Here—weeping before God's altar, invoking peace, and imploring mercy on behalf of God's people—is the proper place for the priests of God, who are entrusted with the hallowed and soul soothing ministry of reconciliation. Here, before the sanctuary of God, who is love, they are completely at home, acting in their own appropriate sphere; and here, God will surely listen to their prayers, and bless their ministry. At the crisis of our country's destiny, she has a right to expect all her citizens to be found standing, faithful sentinels, at their respective posts. This is the post of the priests of God, divinely assigned them.

He ordered that signs of mourning be exhibited in front of all churches, schools, rectories, convents, and institutions. Church bells were to be tolled for half an hour before the public services and a high Mass was to be offered in all parishes at the time which was customary on Sundays.[11]

Bishop Elder of Natchez expressed his grief publicly over the murder of the chief executive, and, to avert God's anger, which had been aroused by the nation's vices, he recommended that April 21, 22, and 23, be set aside for prayer, penance, almsgiving, and the reception of the sacraments.[12]

Archbishop Purcell expressed himself vigorously on the occasion of Lincoln's death, and he requested the clergy of his diocese to follow conscientiously the proclamation of President Johnson establishing June 1 as a day of mourning. On that day churches were to be kept open, Mass was to be offered, a sermon

---

[10] *Ibid.*, April 19, 1865.
[11] *Freeman's Journal*, May 27, 1865.
[12] *Mirror*, May 6, 1865.

was to be given, and special prayers were to be recited so that God would watch over the nation and let it continue to be the home of religious and civil liberty, a haven for the oppressed of every nation, and the land of industry, art, and science.

Knowing Purcell's enthusiasm for the northern cause it is not amazing that in referring to the national calamity, the archbishop said that outside of the crucifixion he hardly knew of so heinous a crime as "the murder of the great and good man, the wise ruler, the faithful father of his country whose death is lamented by the United States and all nations on the face of the earth."

The archbishop referred to his own speech in Pike's opera house in 1862 and also to addresses made before the soldiers. Repeatedly he had expounded what he considered the duties of every native and naturalized citizen during the war. When the sword had been drawn, the people did not want to regard it as serious, but they had to stand firmly by it to preserve the unexcelled blessings which had been theirs since the declaration of independence. To him it was not good fortune but an act of Providence that in the midst of such a crisis a man was placed at the head of the nation who perhaps alone was able to lead it safely and honorably through war to victory. He prophesied that history would speak of the gratitude which the nation owes the man who nominated Lincoln and the people who elected him. The thorough understanding of the American character which Lincoln possessed, the purity and stability of his opinions, his great human sympathy, and, not last, his sense of humor equipped him in a special manner for the arduous task which God and the fatherland had entrusted to him.

The archbishop's theology came to the fore in a paragraph on co-operating in the sin of another by word of mouth, by supporting a disloyal publication, or by trifling with a sinful thought which may lead to a sinful action. He did not scruple to say: "Error is guilt. False theories lead to evil deeds." Next he denounced Bishop Hopkins, a Protestant, for writing a book to sanctify slavery whereas Bishop McGill, in the face of the world's

greatest slave market, condemned it as the scourge of God which brought its last terrible misfortunes to the slaveholding confederacy. The enthusiasm of the archbishop led him to say that "the theory of state rights was another of those evils which the devil casts upon the earth." Seemingly flustered by his volubility, he summarized by saying that he could not be regarded as having meddled with politics since his illustrations had been chosen to show the necessity of guarding against erroneous ideas.[13]

Archbishop Wood of Philadelphia had been taciturn through-

---

[13] *Wahrheitsfreund,* May 24, 1865. The *Mirror,* June 3, 1865, in reviewing McGill's book quoted from it to show that the Church was no abettor of slavery.

John Henry Hopkins had been born in Ireland and had spent some years in the north. His book of 376 pages, *A Scriptural Ecclesiastical and Historical View of Slavery* (New York, 1864), quoted the Old Testament, the Fathers of the Church, the great jurists and philosophers of antiquity, and Bishop England was alloted eight pages to show that the doctrine of the Catholic church was identical with that of the Protestants. Hopkins held that there was no question of owning man; there was only the question of property in human labor. He compared this to the relation of parent to child. The parent has a right to the labor of his offspring. The child, when of age, is freed on the presumption that he is fit for freedom. If the law did not presume him fit for freedom at any age, what objection could there be to not freeing him? That is the case of the Negro.

The popular objection, "How would *you* like to be a slave?" was answered this way. The mayor of New York would be insulted if asked to be a policeman; an Irish laborer would be pleased with the job.

Hopkins also drew a comparison between the Indian and the Negro; one was becoming extinct, whereas the other was increasing and learning something of Christianity. He pointed out that the poor in England were far more deserving of pity than the southern slaves. Another chapter described the sad conditions of Santo Domingo where the blacks had been freed in 1793. In 1789, 672,000,000 pounds of sugar were exported; in 1832 none; the export of coffee dropped to less than one-half; the population dwindled from 600,000 to 280,000. Such was the result of the abrupt abolition by atheistic France.

The divine also devoted a chapter to corporal punishment. Mindful of Holy Writ allowing forty stripes to Jewish freemen, he argued that flogging is better than imprisonment. In prison the malefactor is in bad company — a school of vice. His body is injured by lack of exercise and poor food. In jail he is taunted by the inmates; while after the flogging he enjoys the sympathy of his family. If the method is open to abuses, so too is the rule of jailors.

out the war, but, when the president was assassinated, he issued a letter saying that the calamity had sent a tremor of horror through the hearts of all true and law-abiding citizens. He went on to say:

We desire thus publicly to declare both for ourselves and you our utter abhorrence and execration of this atrocious deed, and at the same time our sympathy and condolence with all our fellow citizens and especially with those most nearly interested in this sad and afflicting bereavement. We desire to enter fully and cordially into the universal expressions of the national grief and into the public demonstrations by which it is appropriately manifested. In times of peril and danger it is the duty of all to recur by most earnest prayer to the Divine Disposer of all events, and with due resignation to our existing afflictions and calamities to pour forth our supplications to God that we may be saved from future and impending evils.

In addition to sending out this letter he preached a timely sermon in his cathedral saying that everyone had to mourn the loss regardless of his political views because:

He whom the voice of the people had placed in the first position in their gift, and whom, consequently, we were all bound to reverence, respect, and to obey, has been stricken down from the chair of legitimate authority and rule.

In the opinion of the archbishop the gentle ways of the president should have merited something else than this foul deed.[14]

Bishop Smyth spoke vigorously about Lincoln's assassination in St. Raphael's cathedral, Dubuque, on Easter Sunday. The festivities of the day had been planned as a thanksgiving service for the recent victory and the return of peace, but, alas, earthly joys are bitter-sweet. The news of victory was followed by the report of the murder of the president. Words failed him to describe the terrible event. If the murderer has escaped the tribunal of justice, he can never flee from his conscience, for the blood on his hands calls loudly to heaven for vengeance. "He who could smile over this crime or even remain indifferent at the

[14] *The Press*, Philadelphia, April 18, 20, 1865. In the diocese the collect *Pro Quacumque Tribulatione* was added to the Mass for a month.

thought thereof is a monster and not a human being; he is a blood-thirsty tiger in the form of a man." Bishop Smyth urged his hearers to sympathize with the president's widow and children to whom the greatest grief in this national calamity had come. The chief executive, he declared, had fallen as a sacrifice for the nation, but the country remained intact, and there were able men in the cabinet and in the army who could pilot the ship of state away from impending doom.

On Wednesday of Easter week the bishop's stable burned, killing his horses, and destroying his coach and grain. The bishop ascribed the loss to a secessionist who had been irked by the denunciation of Lincoln's assassin. The barn story made good copy for Catholic papers, but not everyone believed it. M. B. Mulkern of Dubuque, for example, wrote to the *Telegraph* that the bishop was universally respected and that his speech could not have elicited such hatred. The editor added the comment that the bishop himself had blamed a southern secessionist. The incident is of small consequence, yet it gives an indication of the sectionalism of the nineteenth century.[15]

In Dubuque there was considerable dislike of Lincoln, and the *Dubuque Herald* never failed to praise the "noble confederates." Bishop Smyth's sermon was unfavorably received in the community, and when a group of affluent men, who were engaged in criticizing it, sought the right to dictate what should be said in the pulpit, the bishop retorted that his first purpose in preaching was to please God, his second purpose was to satisfy his conscience, and only lastly did he hope to please all sensible men in the audience.

At the Easter services, Bishop Duggan of Chicago paid tribute to the virtues of the late president by emphasizing his honesty and justice which were tempered with clemency. Like Bishop Smyth across the Mississippi he denounced the assassin who had plunged the nation into deep grief. Bishop Duggan, moreover, sent a letter to the clergy ordering them to toll the church bells and to offer Mass at 10:00 A. M. on April 19, the day of the

[15] *Wahrheitsfreund,* May 24, 1865; *Telegraph,* May 17, 1865.

obsequies, for the peace and the prosperity of the country. He later prescribed that June 1, the official day of mourning, be observed in the churches of his diocese. The services took the form of a high Mass followed by the Litany of the Saints or the *Miserere.*[16]

Priests imitated their superiors in eulogizing the late president. Accordingly, Father Burtsall of St. Ann's, New York, predicted that the slogan *Sic semper tyrannis* would become notorious because it had been used on the occasion of the murder. The mockery would become worse "when we think that it came from one who sympathized with the system of slavery—of which the least that can be said is that it is the parent of tyranny."[17]

Father Layromel of St. Francis Xavier's in the same city, spoke of the president as one of the few great men of the age, who knew how to combine wisdom, vigor, and common sense with candor, magnanimity, and kindness.[18]

In the cathedral of Albany, Father Wadhams conceded that the late president may have made mistakes but in the course of time he grew in the estimation of the people. When the question was asked where the man was who could do better than he, no answer could be found. At the same time he reminded the audience that Andrew Johnson had already taken the oath of office and as such was entitled to obedience, support, and prayers for wisdom and guidance in his administration.[19] This warning was appropriate because many northerners disliked the new president who came from Tennessee.

In the Paulist church, New York, Father Walworth declared:

> The blow which struck down our respected president was aimed at all of us; at every American citizen; it was aimed at the unity and existence of the nation and was not the blow of an individual; no, it was the premeditated blow of treason and rebellion against the lawful, legitimate authority of the country. It was only one of the acts fostered by that state whose motto was repeated by the assassin when he struck the blow at the head of

[16] *Chicago Daily Tribune,* April 19, 20; June 1, 2, 1865.
[17] *New York Tribune,* April 20, 1865.
[18] *Ibid.,* April 17, 1865.
[19] *Albany Journal,* April 17, 1865.

the nation. . . . We were all impressed by the pleasant, amiable, and kindly feelings of the community toward those in arms against the majesty of law. Everyone seemed willing to forgive and forget all the past, none were more kindly disposed than our venerable president, for now that the heat of the political partisanship is over, no one can accuse Mr. Lincoln of being harsh or tyrannical in his measure, on the contrary he was most kind and forgiving.[20]

Father Pise in St. Charles' church, Brooklyn, said that the shot was not directed at the president but at the nation. The villain failed because while he killed the head of the republic, the nation is safe. Mourning has come but not revolution. The new president has been inaugurated even before the remains of his predecessor have left the capital.

Father Weninger wrote a eulogy of Lincoln which was widely read in Austria because it was printed in the *Berichte* of the Leopoldine society. In his opinion Lincoln fell as victim to the south. When he died the nation lost an unusual man. As evidence of his greatness Weninger pointed to his second inaugural address in which he made no mention whatever of his own merits, nor did he speak of his violent enemies. Weninger next put forth the opinion that Lincoln had been baptized a Catholic and reared as such in his youth but that he had drifted from the faith when he moved from Kentucky to Illinois. Nevertheless, in the missionary's opinion, he always esteemed the Church and its hierarchy and was as favorable to the Church as his office would allow. Weninger also praised his successor, President Johnson, and expressed his belief that he had a stronger will than Lincoln. Though he repeated the allegation that Johnson had been drunk on the day of the inauguration, he expected the disgrace of that day to bring about a reform. He also added a note of worry, for he reported that the Puritans of New England were launching a new crusade: No Slavery and No Popery.[21]

---

[20]*New York Tribune,* April 18, 1865.

[21]*Berichte,* vol. XXXV, 31-33. *Ibid.,* XXXVIII, 10. Weninger wrote that the republicans were a threat to the union after the war because they tried to frustrate the reunion of the seceded states. For a discussion of Lincoln's Catholicity see *The American Catholic Historical Researches,*

These eulogistic statements concerning the civil war president cannot be taken as reflecting the sentiments of all American Catholics. They represent the convictions of many, and do not express the views of others who in the face of death observed a respectful silence.

XXII, 165, 208. The conclusion is that Lincoln was never a Catholic. The *Researches* allege that this story appeared first in *Le Monde*, Paris, April 26, 1869. See the letter of Wimmer to King Louis of Bavaria, chapter VI of this work. That letter is dated August 17, 1861.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALLEN, CUTHBERT E., "The Slavery Question in Catholic Newspapers, 1850-1865," United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies,* XXVI, 99-169.

ANDREWS, RENA M., *Archbishop Hughes and the Civil War.* Part of a dissertation. Chicago, 1935.

ANDREWS, RENA M., "Slavery Views of a Northern Prelate," *Church History,* March, 1934, 60-78.

BARTON, GEORGE, *Angels of the Battlefield,* Catholic Art Publishing Co., Philadelphia, 1898.

BAUDIER, ROGER, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana,* A. W. Hyatt Co., New Orleans, 1939.

Brownson, Orestes A., Works of, Collected and arranged by Henry F. Brownson, Thorndike Nourse, Detroit, 1885.

COCHIN, AUGUSTIN, *L'Abolition de L'Esclavage,* Jacques Lecoffre (Paris, 1861). This was translated by Mary L. Booth and published by Walker, Wise and Co., Boston, 1863, 1864.

CORBY, WILLIAM, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life,* La Monte, O'Donnell and Co., Chicago, 1893.

DUPANLOUP, FELIX, Pastoral Letter on Slavery, 1862, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* XXIV, 18-29.

Elder, Character Glimpses of Most Rev. William Henry, Frederick Pustet and Co., New York, 1911.

Faculties of Catholic Chaplains, *Catholic Historical Review,* I, 199-201.

FRANSIOLI, REV. JOSEPH, *Patriotism a Christian Virtue.* A sermon preached in St. Peter's church, Brooklyn, on July 26, 1863. Published by the Loyal Publication Society.

FRESE, JOSEPH, "The Hierarchy and Peace in the War of Secession," *Thought,* June, 1943, 293-305.

GARRAGHAN, GILBERT J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States,* America Press, New York, 1938, II, 147-172.

GERMAIN, AIDAN, *Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains 1776-1917,* Catholic University Press, Washington, 1929.

HASSARD, JOHN, *Life of the Most Rev. John Hughes,* New York, 1866.

HOPE, ARTHUR J., *Notre Dame One Hundred Years,* University Press, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1943, 108-143.

Hughes, Works of the Most Rev. John, ed. by Lawrence Kehoe, Catholic Publication House, New York, 1864.

JOLLY, ELLEN RYAN, *Nuns of the Battlefield,* The Providence Visitor Press, Providence, 1930.

KENNY, MICHAEL, *Catholic Culture in Alabama; Centenary Story of Spring Hill College 1830-1930,* America Press, New York, 1931, 209-232.

LORD, ROBERT H., Sexton, John E., Harrington, Edward T., *History of the Archdiocese of Boston,* Sheed and Ward, New York, 1944, II, 704-718.

LYNCH, PATRICK N., Reports to the Confederate Secretary of State, *The American Catholic Historical Researches,* XXII, 248-259.

MAYNARD, THEODORE, *The Story of American Catholicism,* The Macmillan Co., New York, 1941, 327-372.

Meagher of the Sword, ed. by Arthur Griffith, Dublin, 1916.

MEEHAN, THOMAS F., "Archbishop Hughes and the Draft Riots," United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies,* vol. I, pt. II, 171-190.

MIETTINGER, REV. GUSTAVE, Letters of, *Central-Blatt and Social Justice,* March, 1926, and following months.

MURPHY, ROBERT J., "The Catholic Church in the United States During the Civil War Period 1852-1866," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* XXXIX, 271-346.

Pontificia Americana, ed. by Donald Shearer, J. F. Wagner, New York, 1933.

Proceedings of the National Congresses of the Fenian Society, 1863 and following years.

PURCELL, RICHARD J., "Ireland and the American Civil War," *Catholic World,* April, 1922, 72-84.

RICE, MADELEINE H., *American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1944.

ROTHENSTEINER, JOHN, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis,* St. Louis, 1928, II, 210-219.

RYAN, DESMOND, *The Phoenix Flame A Study of Fenianism and John Devoy,* London, 1937.

RYAN, IGNATIUS L., "Confederate Agents in Ireland," United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies,* XXVI, 40-98.

SCHAFER, JOSEPH, "Who Elected Lincoln?", *American Historical Review,* XLVII, 51-63.

SHEERAN, JAMES, Quotations from the writings of this confederate chaplain are given in the United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies,* XXXII, 94-103.

SMITH, SARA T., "Notes on Satterlee Military Hospital," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* VIII, 399-449.

United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Dispatches, ed. by Leo F. Stock, Catholic University Press, Washington, 1933.

VEROT, RT. REV. A., *A Tract for the Times: Slavery and Abolitionism.* The substance of a sermon preached in St. Augustine, Florida, on January 4, 1861.

Wimmer, Bonifaz, und König Ludwig I. von Bayern Ihre Briefe als Beitrag zur Geschichte der katholischen Kirche und des Deutschtums in den Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas, ed. by Willibald Mathäser, Munich, 1938.

ZWIERLEIN, FREDERICK J., *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid,* The Art Print Shop, Rochester, 1925, I, 256-290.

INDEX

Abolition de l'Esclavage, L', 26 n. 5, 33
Abolitionism, 13 n. 1, 17, 19 ff., 32, 44, 59, 67, 74, 81, 125
Adrian IV, 106
Africa, 22, 31
Agriculture, 68, 79
Alabama, The, 84, 101
Algeria, 84
Altar in camp, 114
American Quarterly Church Review, 33
American Republic, The, 82
Anderson, General, 120
Andersonville, 123 n. 37
Annapolis, 110
Antietam, 114
Antonelli, Cardinal, 68, 88
Armada, Spanish, 15
Austria, 34 n. 25, 94, 149
Authority, principle of, 25, 71

Baker, N. B., 43
Baltimore, Council of in 1866, 34
Bannon, John, 91 ff.
Baraga, Frederick, 36-37
Barber, Samuel, 110
Barnabo, Cardinal, 85, 87, 88, 117
Barron, Edward, 22
Bavaria, 94
Beauregard, General, 55, 95
Beaver Dam, 134
Beecher, Henry Ward, 21, 84 n. 1, 98 n. 1
Beecher, Lyman, 21
Belgium, 96
Bellows, Henry, 117
Bells seized, 55
Beloit, 136 n. 22
Benedict XV, 89
Benedictines, 95
Bennett, Father, 58
Berichte, 34 n. 25, 149
Bible, 19, 21, 62, 74
Bigotry, 11, 14, 15 n. 3, 21, 78, 115, 117, 128, 149
Bishops, French, 18
Bishops, German, 18, 129
Bishops, Irish, 18, 129
Bliemel, Emmeran, 114
Bonald, Louis, 71
Bordeaux, Council of, 26 n. 5
Bourget, Julian, 122 n. 36
Brayman, General, 57
Brazil, 35
Breakspeare, Nicholas, 106
Brotherhood of St. Patrick, 103 n. 11
Brown, H. V., 66
Brown, John, 28
Brownson, Orestes, 12, 13, 15 n. 5, 30, 44, 80-82, 89, 138
Brownson's *Review*, 30, 80-82
Buffalo Sentinel, 80
Bull Run, 56, 98 n. 2
Burke, Thomas F., 107
Burtsall, Father, 148
Butler, General, 16, 54
Butler, Thaddeus, 29, n. 11
Byrne, Andrew, 53

California, 15
Cameron, Simon, 44
Camp Curtin, 121
Camp Dennison, 120
Camp Douglas, 111
Camp Randall, 135
Canada, 27, 99 n. 3, 102, 135
Canonization of Japanese martyrs, 93, 124 n. 1, 131
Capston, James, 91
Carbonari, 102
Carey, Matthew, 22
Carroll, Charles, 22
Catholic emancipation, 97

Catholic University in Dublin, 90
Cedar Mountain, battle of, 131
Central Illinoian, 76
Ceralvo, 12
Chabrat, Bishop, 71 n. 1
Channing, 33 n. 21
Chaplains in civil war, 38, 55, 108 ff., 135
Chaplains in Mexican war, 12
Chaplains in navy, 12
Charles X of France, 16
Charleston Daily Courier, 77
Chase, Salmon, 38
Chateaubriand, Francis, 71
Chattanooga, 66
Chicago, 43
Cincinnati Daily Gazette, 141
Clay, Henry, 11
Cleveland, Grover, 12
Cochin, Augustin, 26 n. 5, 33, 85
Collections, 114, 136
Colonization of Negroes, 16, 22, 31
Comte, August, 23
Confederacy, 16, 24, 32, 43 n. 10, 53 ff., 71, 83 ff., 110
Confessions in army, 114
Confiscation, 42, 55, 75
Conscription, 42, 44 n. 11, 45 ff., 86 n. 5, 106
See also Draft
Constitution, 13, 17, 19, 20, 41, 45, 60, 68, 77, 78, 81, 127, 139
Contoy prisoners, 15 n. 5
Cooney, Peter, 115
Corby, William, 113 ff.
Corcoran, Michael, 76 n. 15, 98, 99
Corporal punishment, 145 n. 13
Corpus Christi feast in Natchez, 56
Correspondant, Le, 85
Cotton, 68, 83, 84
Coyle, Patrick, 110
Crimean War, 99
Cuba, 15, 16, 84, 93
Cullen, Cardinal, 102, 103, 107
Curtin, Governor, 119

Dael, Louis, 136
Daily Times, 104
Dalton, 64
Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, 118
David's Island, 116
Davis, Jefferson, 39, 89
Dayton, William, 84
Deisenrieder, Michael, 132
Democratic party, 11, 14, 48, 49, 76, 101, 125
Denmark, 83, 92
Dennison, William, 38
Deuster, Peter, 70, 130
Dillon, James, 115
Doane, George, 109
Doheny, Michael, 98
Domenec, Michael, 39, 40, 93
Dominicans, 16
Dom Pedro II, 35
Doolittle, Senator, 131
Doran, Colonel, 132
Dowling, Robert, 91
Draft, 42, 45 ff., 58, 64, 75, 95, 129, 135
See also Conscription
Draft riots, 45 ff.
Drake constitution, 37
Dred Scott decision, 16
Dubuis, Claude, 53
Dubuque, 43, 147
Dubuque Herald, 44 n. 11, 147
Duggan, James, 43, 55, 61 n. 9, 111, 147
Dupanloup, Felix, 26, 33
Durward, Bernard, 134

Elder, William, 53, 55-59, 112, 126, n. 4, 143
Elia, Basil, 112
Emancipation proclamation, 33, 75
Emmet, Robert, 97
Emonds, Father, 120
Enescorty, 101
England, 22, 27, 72, 84 ff., 97 ff.
England, John, 12, 21, 22, 23, 145 n. 13
English, Adrian, 66

Enlisting, 43 n. 10, 61, 131
Episcopalians, 74, 84
Erie Star, 50 n. 27
Etschmann, Francis, 131 n. 14
Eugenie, Empress, 84
Evolution, 65
Expansion, territorial, 12, 13

Faith the Victory, 62
Farrell, Thomas, 28
Fenians, 39, 40, 97 ff., 136 n. 22
Finucane, John, 39
Fitzpatrick, John, 96
Flag blessing, 55
Flag displays, 37, 40, 43, 67, 130
Flanigen, George, 66
Fond du Lac, 137
Fort Delaware, 112
Fort Hudson, 112
Fort La Fayette, 73
Fort Schuyler, 115
Fort Sumter, 29, 40
Fort Warren, 24
Forty-eighters, 14, 95, 125, 128
Forty hours devotion, 56
France, 33, 83, 84 ff., 97
Fransioli, Joseph, 28 n. 10
Freeman's Journal, 12, 28, 29, 34 n. 25, 48, 63 n. 12, 70, 73, 91, 116, 126 n. 4, 139
Freemasonry, 23
Free soil party, 30
Freitag, Father, 110
French-Americans, 71, 106
French Catholics, 85
French revolution of 1789, 20, 25, 70-71
Fugitive slave law, 30
Fusseder, Francis, 109, 116, 134, 135

Garesché, Ferdinand, 29 n. 11
Garibaldi, 83
Garraghan, Gilbert, 45 n. 15
Garrison, William L., 17, 21, 24
Gaston, William, 22
General absolution, 114
Georgetown, 12
German-Americans, 106, 125 ff.
German philosophers, 65
Germany, 83
Gerrymandering, 45
Geselachowski, Alexander, 109
Gettysburg, 114, 118
Gibbons, James, 105
Gillen, Paul, 111
Glasnevin cemetery, 103
Governors, 119, 124
Grant, General, 107, n. 16, 111
Gray, Wood, 43 n. 10
Greeley, Horace, 46, 47
Green Bay Advocate, 135
Gregory XVI, 22
Guadalupe Hidalgo, treaty of, 14, 15

Haiti, 33 n. 22
Hamilton, Father, 123 n. 37
Harvey, Governor, 119, 132
Havermans, Father, 47 n. 21
Heiss, Michael, 130
Helmprächt, Father, 34 n. 25
Hennessey, J. S., 129 n. 7
Henni, John, 27, 40, 124 ff.
Herald and Visitor, 79
Herman, Father, 136 n. 22
Hewit, Henry, 58
Hogan, Father, 115
Homestead act, 90
Hopkins, John, 144, 145 n. 13
Hospital chaplains, 109, 123
Hospitals, 111, 112, 116 n. 27, 118 ff.
Hubert, Father, 55
Hughes, John, 11, 18, 23, 32-33, 40, 41, 44, 45-49, 76 n. 15, 84 ff., 98 n. 1, 103, 106, 111, 118, 127, 130
Humanitarianism, 19, 20, 21, 25, 70

Illegitimate children, 127
Immigration, 11, 14, 20, 27, 54, 79, 81, 90, 92, 94
Immortale Dei, 85
Indemnity to church in Chattanooga, 66

Indemnity to slave owners, 31
Indians, 34, 99, 145 n. 13
In Plurimis, 35
Intermarriage of races, 31
Ireland, 21, 39, 42, 80, 90 ff., 97 ff., 114, 130
Ireland, John, 109
Irish-Americans, 32, 48-49, 76, 77, 80, 81, 90 ff., 98 ff., 125, 133
Irish-American soldiers, 39, 43, 47, 61 n. 9, 97 ff., 107 n. 15, 116, 132
Irish People, 100
Isabella II, 93
Italy, 83, 86, 98 n. 1

Jacksonville, Florida, 64
Japanese martyrs, 93, 124 n. 1, 131
Jesuits, 12, 55
Johnson, Andrew, 40, 143, 148, 149
Jonesborough, battle of, 114

Katholische Blätter aus Tirol, 127
Kelly, John, 22
Kenny, Michael, 60
Kenrick, Francis, 23, 39, 67
Kenrick, Peter, 37-38, 91, 105
Kilroy, Father, 122 n. 36
King, Rufus, 68, 125
Kirkwood, Governor, 119
Know-nothing party, 14, 78, 87, 90, 94, 98 n. 1, 128
Kossuth, Louis, 17

Labor unions, 20
Lacordaire, Jean, 85
Lambert, Louis, 115
Lammenais, Félicité, 23
Lamy, John, 115
Langton, Stephen, 103
Lavelle, Father, 103
Lavigerie, Charles, 85
Layromel, Father, 148
Layton, Mrs. Thomas, 56
Lebanon, Kentucky, 39
Leo XIII, 35, 85
Leopoldine Society, 34 n. 25, 149
Leveque, Zephirin, 122 n. 36
Liberator, The, 17, 24
Liberia, 22
Libermann, Francis, 22
Liberty depends on God's gifts, 25
Lincoln, Abraham, 26 n. 5, 33, 38, 45, 56, 71, 76, 77, 78, 80, 87, 95, 109, 125, 126, 128, 130, 135, 138 ff.
Lincoln hospital, 118
Liquor, 17, 115
Literature, religious, 116 ff., 132
Loughlin, John, 142
Louisiana, Republic of, 55
Louisville Democrat, 39
Louisville *Guardian,* 70, 73-74
Loyal Publication Society, 28 n. 10
Luby, Thomas, 98 n. 1
Luers, John, 44
Luxembourg, 135
Lynch, John, 92
Lynch, Patrick, 27 n. 5, 40, 41, 53, 67-69, 91 ff.

Madison, Wisconsin, 131
Magna charta, 103
Mahony, Denis, 44 n. 11
Maistre, Claude, 28
Maistre, Joseph, 71
Malvern hill battle, 114
Manassas, 61, 65
See also Bull Run
Mann, A. D., 89, 92 n. 17
Manucy, Father, 110
Manufacturing, 68
Marriage of slaves, 61, 63
Martin, Augustus, 25, 53, 65
Martin, Jacob, 13
Mason, James, 84
Mathew, Father, 17
Maury, Sarah, 11
Maximilian, 83 94
Maynooth, 91
McCarthy, Henry, 105
McCloskey, John, 107, 142
McElroy, John, 12
McGill, John, 53, 61-62, 144

McGlynn, Edward, 23, 28
McGrane, Peter, 118
McIlvaine, Charles, 84 n. 1
McMahon's regiment, 111
McManus, Terence, 102-103
McMaster, James, 25, 28, 40 n. 5, 48, 70, 73, 139
McMullen, John, 43
Meagher, General, 99, 102 n. 10, 114
Methodists, 95
Metropolitan Record, 48, 80
Mexican war, 11, 12, 99
Mexico, 92
Mignault, Napoleon, 133, 135
Milwaukee Sentinel, 29, 50 n. 27, 115, 125, 130, 131, 132, 135, 136 n. 22
Minnesota, 34 n. 25
Mirror, 29, 59, 70, 71-72, 81, 105, 139
Miscellany, U. S. Catholic, 70, 80
Mishawaka, Indiana, 44
Missions of Weninger, 126
Mississippi river, 41
Missouri constitution, 37
Mitchel, Henrietta, 98 n. 1
Mitchel, John, 97, 98 n. 1, 107
Mittelbronn, Francis, 55
Montalembert, Charles, 32, 33, 85
Monte, 115
Monterey, battle of, 12
Moral theology, 23
Moriarity, Bishop, 102
Mormons, 99
Morrison, A. M., 101
Morton, Governor, 119, 122 n. 36
Motley, John, 94
Mound City, 119, 122 n. 36
Mueller, Adam, 71
Mulkern, M. B., 147
Mullaly, John, 48
Mulligan, Colonel, 61 n. 9
Mullon, Father, 54
Murphy, Father, 101

Nain Jaune, Le, 16
Napoleon I, 20
Napoleon III, 80, 84, 85, 92
Nashville, 99 n. 3
Natchez, 56, 136
National workshops in France, 14 n. 2
Nativism, 11, 14
Nealis, J. T., 66 n. 20
New Orleans *Standard,* 70
New York *Herald,* 115
New York, *Tablet,* 76, 78-79, 80
New York Tribune, 28, 41 n. 7, 46
Norris, John, 131
Northwest ordinance, 19
Notre Dame university, 28 n. 9, 38, 44, 111, 113, 118, 119
Nurse, first trained, 117

Oath of allegiance, 127
O'Brien, Captain, 131
O'Brien, Smith, 97 n. 1, 102 n. 10
O'Connell, Daniel, 17, 22
O'Daniel, Victor, 65
Odin, Jean, 39, 53, 54-55, 89
O'Donnell, Leopold, 94
O'Flaherty, E., 104
O'Hagan, Joseph, 114
Oligarchy, 60, 75
O'Mahoney, John, 97, 98, 100
O'Neill, John, 99
Original sin, 26
Orphans, 58, 121, 136
Ostend manifesto, 15, 16
O'Toole, Lawrence, 101
Ouellet, Thomas, 114

Paducah, 119
Papal state, 13, 14, 86 ff., 98 n. 1, 103, 125
Parker, Theodore, 28, 33 n. 21
Parks, Charles, 12
Peace candidates, 129
Peace projects, 23
Pedro, II, Dom, 35
See under Dom
Penal laws, 21
Perché, Napoleon, 24, 55, 70, 71
Perry, Horatio, 93

Perryville, 120
Philadelphia Inquirer, 101
Philadelphia *Press,* 48-49
Pilot, The, 24, 76, 141
Pise, Father, 149
Pittsburgh *Catholic,* 49 n. 23, 77-78, 80, 141
Pius VII, 22
Pius IX, 39, 68, 88, 100, 117, 124
Pius XII, 89
Plea for the West, A, 21
Pledge, the, 115
Pointe Coupee, 55
Poles, 83, 86, 100
Polk, James, 11, 13
Port Gibson, battle of, 112
Port Washington, Wisconsin, 109, 134, 135
Prayers, 36, 43, 54, 55 ff., 100, 142 ff.
Presbyterian of the West, 15 n. 3
Priests, 18, 28, 29, 45 n. 15, 47 n. 21, 48, 131 ff.
Private judgment, 53
Progress of mankind, 21
Propaganda, the, 69
Propagateur Catholique, Le, 24, 55, 60 n. 8, 70-71, 78, 138
Protestant clergy, 25, 63, 72, 73, 76, 95
Protestantism, 25, 78
Protestants, 116
Prussia, 83
Public lands, 79, 90
Pugh, Mr., 41
Purcell, Edward, 74
Purcell, John, 18, 34, 38, 40, 41-43, 53, 58-59, 103 ff., 112, 120, 126 n. 4, 129, 143 ff.
Puritans, 25, 34 n. 25, 74, 95, 128, 139, 149

Queckelberge, Charles, 112
Quinlan, John, 41, 53, 59-61, 75, 112

Racine, Wisconsin, 131
Railroad, transcontinental, 90
Railroad, underground, 28
Randall, Alexander, 87, 124
Rappe, Amadeus, 50
Rationalism, 19, 20, 21, 71
Redemption and slavery, 26
Redemptorists, 29 n. 11, 55, 110
Religious instruction of Negroes, 63
Republican, (Savannah), 14 n. 2
Republican party, 14, 25, 101, 125, 128, 129, 140, 149 n. 21
Revolution, American, 83
Revolution of 1830, 14 n. 2, 20
Revolution of 1848, 14 n. 2, 20
See also Forty-eighters
Rey, Anthony, 12
Richmond Dispatch, 61
Riordan, George, 132
Roach, Father, 101
Roberts, William, 97 n. 1
Romana, 126
Ropen hospital, 121
Rosecrans, General, 67, 74
Rosecrans, Sylvester, 74, 126 n. 4, 141 n. 6
Rosenbauer, Father, 110
Russell, Lord, 98 n. 1
Russia, 100
Rutherford, John, 103
Ryan, Abram, 38 n. 3, 123 n. 37

Sailer, Francis, 131
St. Francis seminary, 134 ff.
St. John's Bar, 64
St. Mary of the Lake university, 43
St. Patrick's cathedral, 86, 102-103
St. Patrick's day, 114
Salary of chaplains, 108, 110
Salzmann, Joseph, 130, 135
Sanford, H. S., 96
Santo Domingo, 33, 34 n. 22, 83, 145 n. 13
Satterlee hospital, 112, 118
Savannah, 14 n. 2, 24, 64
Schlegel, Friedrich, 25, 71
Schurz, Carl, 94

Secession, 24, 31, 41, 53, 55, 57, 60 n. 8, 74, 77, 79, 94, 129
Secret societies, 39, 43 n. 11, 95, 100, 102, 103, 104
Seebote, 113, 125 n. 2, 126, 130, 137 n. 22
Selection of chaplains, 108
Self-determination, 86
Serfs, freed, 19, 20
Seward, William, 32, 39, 47, 48, 76 n. 15, 86, 88, 93, 96, 106 n. 15, 125, 127
Seymour, Horatio, 47 n. 20, 48
Seymour, Mrs. Horatio, 117
Shea, John G., 93
Shenandoah, 101
Sherman, General, 44, 67
Shiloh, battle of, 112, 132 n. 16
Sillonists, 23
Single tax, 28
Sion, 127
Sisters as nurses, 117 ff.
Sisters of Charity, 118, 120
Sisters of Mercy, 118, 121
Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, 118, 121
Sisters of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, 118
Sisters of Providence, 118
Sisters of St. Dominic, 118, 120
Sisters of St. Joseph, 118, 121
Sisters of St. Ursula, 118, 121
Sisters of the Holy Cross, 118, 119
Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, 118, 121
Slavery, 12, 13, 19 ff., 62 ff., 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 94, 127, 134, 145
Slave trade, 22, 29, 32, 63, 78
Slidell, John, 84
Slinger, Wisconsin, 132
Smedding, Benedict, 126
Smyth, Clement, 43, 120, 146-147
Socialism, 14 n. 2
Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 64
Society of United Irishmen, 97
Sociology, 23
Sorin, Father, 119
Soulé, Pierre, 16
Sovereignty, 41, 60 n. 8, 79
Spain, 15, 16, 83, 93
Spalding, Martin, 38-40, 112, 120, 127 n. 4, 143
Spanish-American war, 121 n. 35
Spanish civil war, 83
Spring Hill college, 118
Stanton, Edwin, 57
Staten Island, 111
States, admission of, 15
Statesmen of America in 1846, 11
State suicide, 31
Stephens, James, 97, 98, 102
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 15 n. 3, 21, 28
Substitutes, 45, 64, 129 n. 7
Suffrage, universal, 24
Supreme Court, 140
Surratt, John, 125
Sweeny, Thomas, 99

Taladrid, Damaso, 115
Taney, Roger, 16, 17, 22
Tariff, 26
Telegraph, 12, 29, 38, 39, 49 n. 23, 58-59, 70, 73, 74-76, 80, 104, 117, 120, 130, 141, 147
Tennessee river, 120
Territorial expansion, 12, 13, 77
Texas, 11, 14
Thanksgiving recommendation of Purcell, 41-43
Thomas Aquinas, 28
Thompson, George, 17
Thompson, Richard, 129 n. 8
Timon, John, 40, 49, 111, 117, 142
Titusville, Pennsylvania, 133
Tone, Wolf, 97
Toulouse, 16
Transportation of wounded, 119
Treason, 30
Treaties, 127
Trent, the, 84

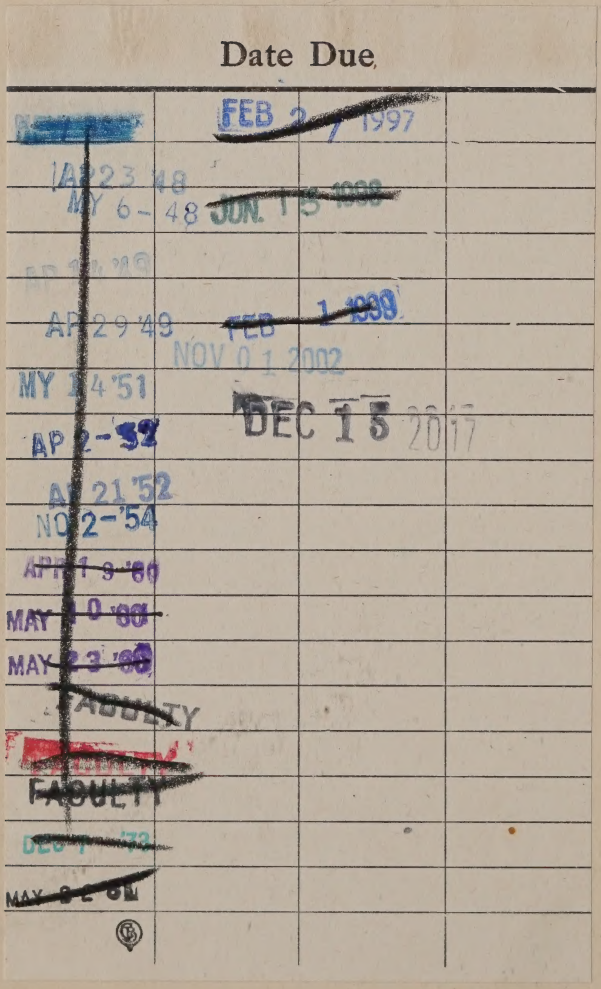
Troy, New York, 47 n. 21
True Church Indicated to the Inquirer, The, 61
Truyens, Father, 122 n. 36
Tuttle, General, 56

Uncle Tom's Cabin, 15, 21, 28
Underground railroad, 28
Unemployment, 48, 76, 83
U. S. Christian commission, 116
U. S. sanitary commission, 117, 119
Unity of the race, 65
Universal suffrage, 24
Universe, The, 80
Usannaz, Father, 123 n. 37

Vallandingham, Clement, 48, 130
Vatican, 68, 87 ff.
See also papal state
Vatican council, 65
Verot, Augustine, 24, 25, 53, 62-65
Vicksburg, 58, 112
Vidalia, Louisiana, 57
Vienna, 94
Vinegar Hill, 101
Voltaire, Francis, 21
Volunteers, 32, 45, 46, 98
Vow of Natchez, 56

Wadhams, Father, 148
Wahrheitsfreund, Der, 27, 73, 76, 112, 116-117, 126, 132
Walsh, P. D., 100
Walsh, Robert, 22
Walworth, Father, 148
War of 1812, 55
Watertown, Wisconsin, 133
Weed, Thurlow, 84
Weninger, Francis, 126 ff., 149
Whelan, James, 38, 53, 65-66
Whelan, Richard, 53, 67
White, Father, 72
Whittier, John, 14 n. 2
Wilkes, Charles, 84
Willet, Thomas, see Ouellet
Wimmer, Boniface, 94
Wisconsin, 124 ff.
Wisconsin soldiers' home, 136
Wiseman, Nicholas, 92
Wittenmyer, Mrs., 120
Wood, James, 40, 105, 112, 144-145

Yates, Governor, 119
Y. M. C. A.'s, 116
Young, Josue, 39, 50 n. 27
Young Ireland, 97, 107


Date Due
FEB 2 7 1997
MY 6-48
JUN. 15
AP 29 '49
FEB
NOV 0 1 2002
MY 14 '51
DEC 15
AP 2-52
AP 21 '52
NO 2-'54
MAY
MAY
FACULTY
FACULTY
MAY

E540 .C3B64
Catholics and the Civil War, essays.
Princeton Theological Seminary--Speer Library
1 1012 00024 3438